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NATIONAL REVIEW

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January 16, 1962

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

The Twisted Tree of Liberty

FRANK S. MEYER

A New Look at a Controversial *Committee*

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

A Hobble for Pegasus

RICHARD M. WEAVER

Articles and Reviews by . . . . DONALD W. TREADGOLD
JAMES BURNHAM · C. D. BATCHELOR · ROBERT O. BOWEN
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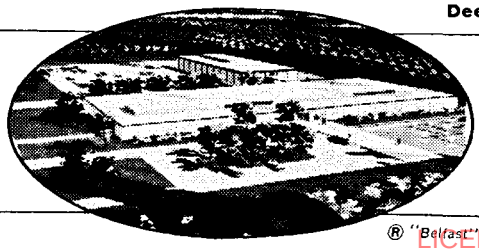

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

→ we feature an essay on the House Committee on Un-American Activities by **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.**, who spent the summer putting together a book on the controversial Committee which G. P. Putnam's will bring out toward the end of February. Contributors include several editors and associates of NATIONAL REVIEW, and, besides, George Crocker (author: *Roosevelt's Road to Russia*); Irving Ferman, former chief counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union; and C. Dickerman Williams, the well-known New York attorney and author. *The Committee and Its Critics* is, believe it or not, the first book favorable to the Committee ever to be published, the general assumption having been that the kind of people who approve, on balance, the Committee's work, are not the kind of people who write books. . . . **Frank Meyer** considers the faction within the conservative camp which is transforming the conservative's distrust of statist activity into a paranoid obsession whose victims fall into solipsistic reveries which fail to take into account a) the existence of the Communist enterprise; and b) the consequent and necessary existence of a Western counter-enterprise. It is widely known that pacifism is eating deeply into the Liberal psyche; it is not widely known that it is, if not exactly a force within the right wing, at least a ripple, which nevertheless wants watching.

→ Much publicity was recently given to the statement by Professor John C. Bennett (of the Union Theological Seminary) to the effect that we cannot, in the Cold War struggle, blandly assume that God is on our side (since we are in a way as bad as the Communists, etc.). Theologian **Will Herberg** examines that contention and the tree from which it springs, and, Solomon-like, isolates the enthymeme in the argument that God is a Neutralist. Exit Bennett . . . . **Russell Kirk** describes the hysteria which followed upon the decision of a school in Wisconsin to reintroduce McGuffey's Readers into the curriculum —a desperate move by the local board of education to find an alternative to the John-Jane-Spot pabulum on which today's students don't-cut their teeth. Man, it was a gas in Wisconsin.

→ Professor **Donald Treadgold**, of the University of Washington, describes the latest sick-book of poor Erich Fromm, whose intellectual deterioration is aptly summarized by Dr. Treadgold, as consisting in an Escape from Reality. . . . Professor **Robert Bowen** (University of Dallas) reviews three earthy books, and wonders when our fiction writers will be so adventuresome as to write fiction which does not depend on scatology. . . . Professor **Richard Weaver** of Chicago, rhetorician, philosopher, humanist, coolly disposes of a recent effort by a resourceful social scientist to insist that the trouble with Eve's apple was that it was un-democratic. . . . And **Priscilla Buckley** raves about the pleasures of seeing and hearing Robert Morse. →

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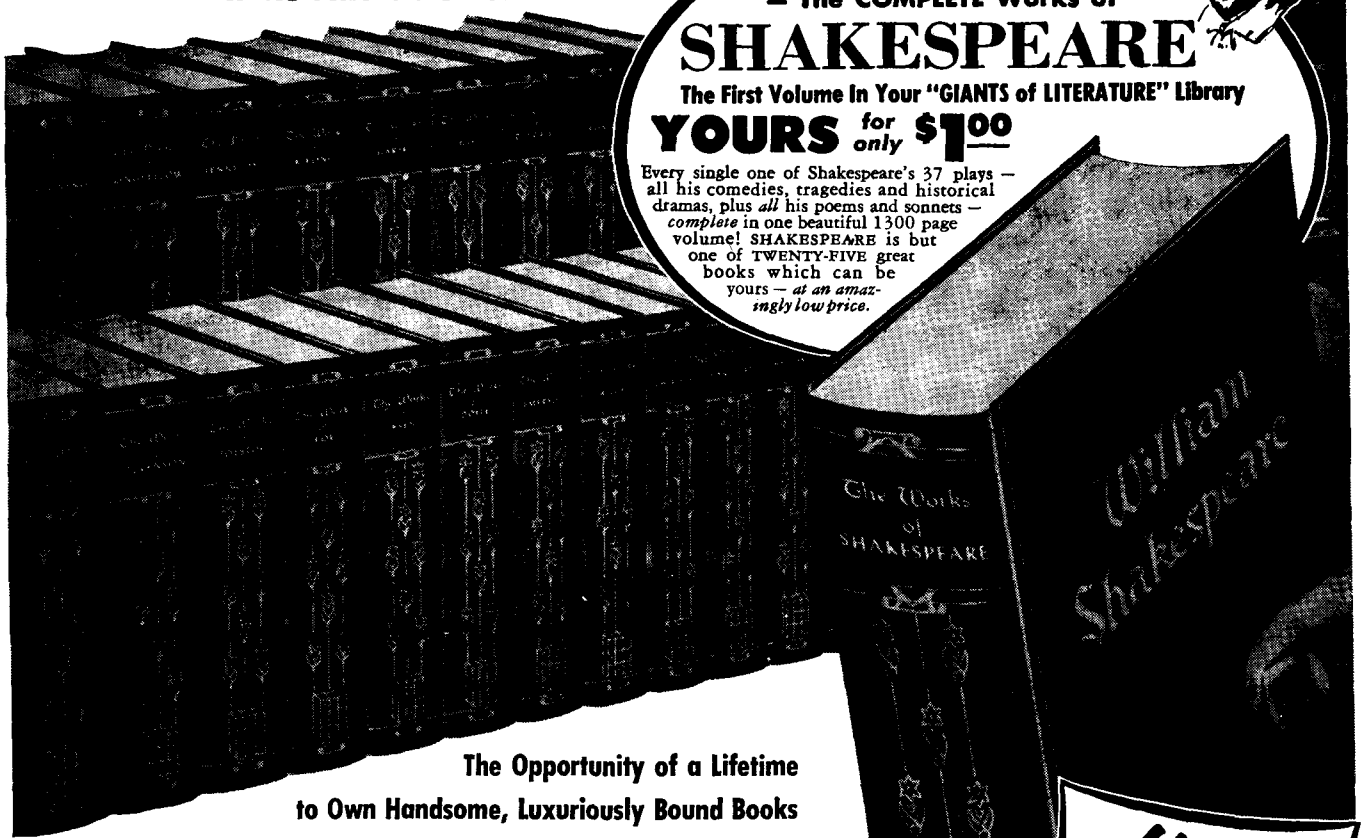
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Melancholy Texts For Our Children

SOVIET students learn from textbooks that are vastly superior to those from which our students learn, according to Dr. Arther S. Trace Jr., author of the recent best seller, "What Ivan Knows That Johnny Doesn't."

In the Winter Number of *The University Bookman,* Dr. Trace compares "Patriotism in Soviet and American Textbooks," and comes to melancholy conclusions. He says:

"The readers and social-studies textbooks designed for the first three grades of American schools, despite the fact that many of them are now on the market, are virtually all alike in many important respects and they are all condemnable on many counts: the idiot-level vocabulary and the inane and trivial and otherwise wholly unrewarding character of almost all of the selections in them are among the most notable. But perhaps the most notable of all is their failure to give to young students any sense of being a member of a great nation with a great past and with great ideals—particularly at a time when it is extremely important that they have this awareness."

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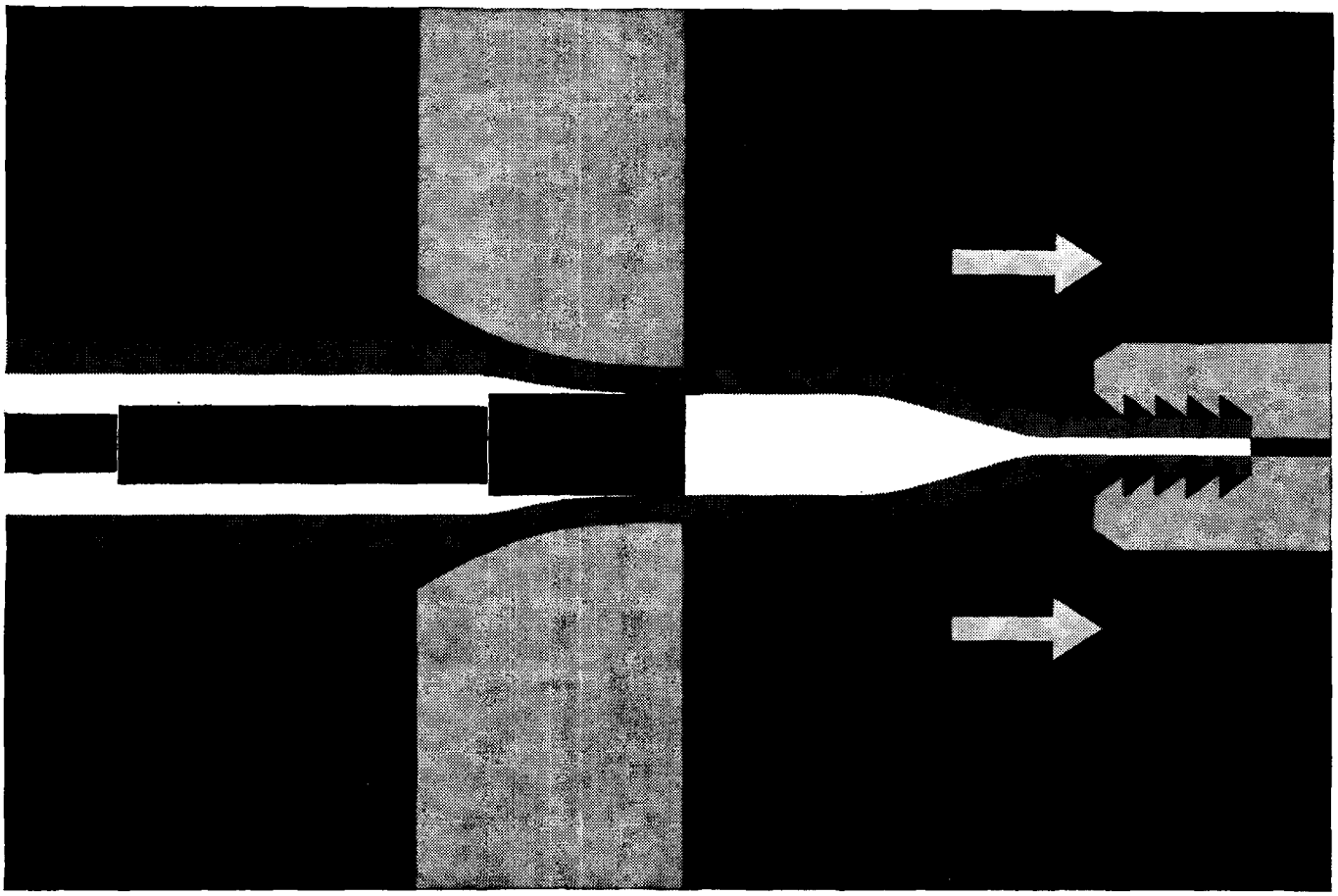

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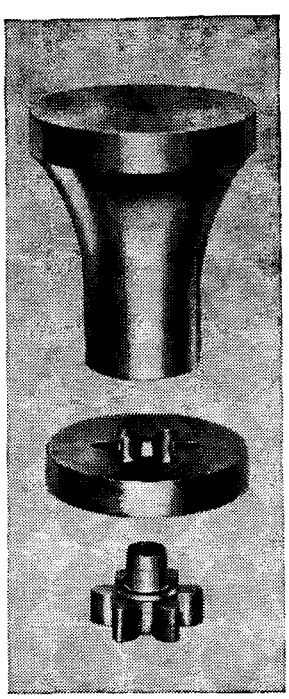

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The WEEK

● LIBERAL SYLLOGISM: 1) We give hundreds of millions of dollars to Indonesia's Sukarno. 2) Sukarno buys hundreds of millions of dollars worth of guns, jet planes, naval vessels, etc., from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland. 3) Sukarno mobilizes his army, fleet and air force, and issues an ultimatum to our ally, the Netherlands: hand over western New Guinea, and no nonsense about letting the inhabitants have a say about how they want to be governed or by whom. Therefore, 4) What we need is more foreign aid.

● Newburgh, New York, has got the word from the New York State Supreme Court: all but one of its thirteen revolutionary proposals concerning civic "welfare" administration are illegal (the exception: requiring welfare recipients to report to City Hall once a month). Although Newburgh and its City Manager, Joseph Mitchell, have no recourse now (except appeal), they can look back on a job well done, for they aroused the nation to a reappraisal of the welfare structure so searching that even Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of the Healthy Wealthy & Wise Dept., has announced he'll try to abolish cheating; and Mitchell can look forward to an enormous job remaining ahead, the mobilization of popular demand directed at state capitals and at Washington in order to rewrite the welfare laws so that commonsensical proposals such as Newburgh's may one day be not only rational but also legal.

● The American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters has commissioned Professor Ernest van den Haag, well known to the readers of NATIONAL REVIEW, to conduct a fact-finding mission. Dr. van den Haag left last week for Brussels. He was to fly to Leopoldville and Elisabethville, and expected to talk with President Adoula, Moise Tshombe, and dozens of officials and witnesses, with a view to writing a report on the background and nature of the UN's operations in Katanga. That report will be released as soon as technically possible by the Committee, and Professor van den Haag will make available his research to the congressional committee which, by then, will presumably be investigating U.S. policy on Katanga.

● The State Department's fuss a week ago about the rich and powerful Katanga Lobby (will someone please explain why a province whose economy and liberties are threatened by an external power should be ashamed of spending $140,000 over the course of an entire year, in an effort to make known its position to the public of the most influential nation in the world? Obviously Katanga should have spent more), as one would expect, caused the extreme Left to suggest out loud that the Katangese government was footing the bill for the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters. The *New York Post* sneered out loud that here, undoubtedly, was the economic spring from which the Committee was so gluttonously drinking. "Where did the money come from to pay for the Freedom Fighters' advertisement? Who really is sponsoring the operation?" asked the *Post*. From the people, dear *Post*, that is where. More than 5,000 people sent the American Committee contributions, totalling over $30,000. Because, dear *Post*, the people wish to declare their solidarity with the freedom fighters in Katanga, and don't need to be bribed to do so, any more than the *Post* needs bribing to declare its solidarity with the neutralists and appeasers—the *Post* does it out of idealism. While we're at it, why do the Communists behave as they do? Out of idealism. Idealism is not a wholly-owned subsidiary of Communists and anti-anti-Communists, dear *Post*.

● The UN General Assembly voted to issue $200 million worth of bonds and authorized U Thant to ask the International Court of Justice whether the law requires UN members to pay their assessments for such special UN operations as the riot squad in Gaza and the storm troops in Katanga. In so doing, the UN voted itself one more step toward oblivion, because the World Court decision, either way, can only confirm the impotence of the UN. If the World Court says, "Yes, every member must pay his share of special assessments," then a lot of UN members will be given the heave-ho, because it's unlikely that they'll pay up now if they have steadfastly refused until now. If the Court says, "No, you don't have to pay these special assessments," then the UN either goes broke or it lives on U.S. charity—a source of help that would dry up tomorrow if the U.S. taxpayer had any say in the matter.

● Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Judge Roy Bean, continues his campaign of peace-by-lynch-law. Having emerged victorious from the heroical War of 1961 against the Portuguese settlers of the sixteenth century (in which his troops outnumbered the aggressors by several hundred to one), he has now moved against the hoss-thief of Kashmir, Sheik Abdullah, the popular leader who might win the captaincy of Kashmir if Nehru ever allowed that state a plebiscite. Sheik Abdullah, who was clapped in prison without

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formal charges, is now being brought to trial without charges, and he has about as much chance under Nehru's law East of the Indus as he would have had under Judge Bean's Law West of the Pecos, as enunciated in the Jersey Lily Saloon. Matter of fact, the old Hangin' Tree, now grey and leafless, still stands in Langtry, Texas. Maybe we should wrap it up and ship it to Nehru as part of this year's Technical Assistance to India?

● SUPERPATRIOT? "American forces are so deployed throughout the free world that no surprise attack would prevent us from striking back hard within short hours against the aggressor. But to strike back we must survive, and to survive we must be constantly and completely aware of the perils that confront us. We must stand united and determined to counteract Moscow's mad determination to conquer or carbonize the world, a gruesome plan mapped out with precision many years ago, a plan we are now experiencing in its near-to-final chapter, which includes pollution of God's very air and earth which are the common property of all people now alive and of all generations yet to be born . . . I urge all Americans to intensify their anti-Communist programs." (Cardinal Spellman, at annual USO Dinner, New York City, Dec. 10, 1961)

● SUPERPATRIOT? "[Unless Americans are careful] they are going to find themselves on the threshold if not in the clutches of a socialistic state . . . The central government has assumed unprecedented power and control over every state in the United States, and over every citizen in America. . . . Labor must realize that there is a limit to which it can go in demanding more and more, whether it be shorter hours, more pay or fringe benefits. There is a limit somewhere in this inflationary era. Management must realize that profits must not go to the extremes with increases in the costs of products. You cannot increase the cost of living without increasing the demands of labor. There is a borderline of sound currency and inflation. [We should applaud the anti-Communist efforts of] such rightist movements as Senator Barry Goldwater and . . . the NATIONAL REVIEW . . . As a result of their work and that of countless others, the anti-Communist movement on the grass root level is now off the ground." (Cardinal Cushing, speaking at Bon Secours Guild, Boston, Dec. 6, 1961)

● On starting the New Year right: As of January 1, anyone who thinks the world standard of measurement for the meter is that famous platinum bar put down in a suburban Paris cellar in 1799 is, well, *vieux chapeau.* All one need do in 1962 to compute the length of the meter is to remember that it is "a length equal to 1,656,763.83 wavelengths in a vacuum of the radiation corresponding to the transition between the level 2P10 and 5D5 of the atom of krypton 86." (To figure a kilometer? Simple. Just multiply by 1,000.)

● Question. How can I avoid being "superpatriotic"? Answer. Be superunpatriotic. Next question?

The Lion and the UNicorn

The British have their full share of political softs and eccentrics, but they have been spared, for the most part, the epicene variety of doctrinaire Globalism that has flourished on our own sentimental soil. If Eleanor Roosevelt showed up at the Keokuk chapter of the American Association for the United Nations and proposed a vote of censure of UNESCO, the members, to a woman, would faint dead away. But the Berwick-Upon-Tweed branch of England's sister association took it quite in stride when Britain's Foreign Minister, Lord Home, used their monthly meeting (December 28) to launch a general attack on the UN's manners and morals.

The United Nations "encourages policies that endanger law and order," remarked Lord Home with a candor rare among the great of the world. Many of its members refuse to pay their chits; there is no relating of power to responsibility. "A large part of the organization which is dedicated to peace openly condones aggression." India's aggression against Goa unrebuked by the Assembly, was "a direct breach of the Charter and of international law." The UN "seldom condemns Russians but constantly assails us . . . Everyone has seen the chaos in the Congo and everyone knows that it derives from a premature grant of independence to a country whose people were totally unprepared for their new responsibilities. Yet many delegates were instructed by their governments to sponsor and vote for resolutions which could only multiply and magnify that chaos in other places.'

Such blasphemy from an official source was too much for the opposition. Two days later, Harold Wilson, Foreign Minister in the Labor Party's shadow cabinet, sounded the tocsin. Her Majesty's Government, he proclaimed, has "sold out to its most reactionary supporters." It has joined "an unholy alliance of ex-colonial powers whose one aim is to prevent the UN from becoming an instrument of peaceful change." (A function not mentioned in the Charter, but much cherished by the UN's Left admirers.) To make doubly clear his meaning, Mr. Wilson went on: "Once an international organization becomes a device for . . . strengthening the old-established nations against newly-emerging communities that organization is lost." (A curious sentiment, one

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would have thought, for a citizen of an old-established nation.)

Mr. Wilson went on to excoriate his Government's "equivocal maneuvers on behalf of Katanga's provincial regime headed by Mr. Tshombe and of financial interests whose purposes it serves." Neatly reversing Labor's standard form, he went on to sing the praises of, of all things, the U.S. State Department.

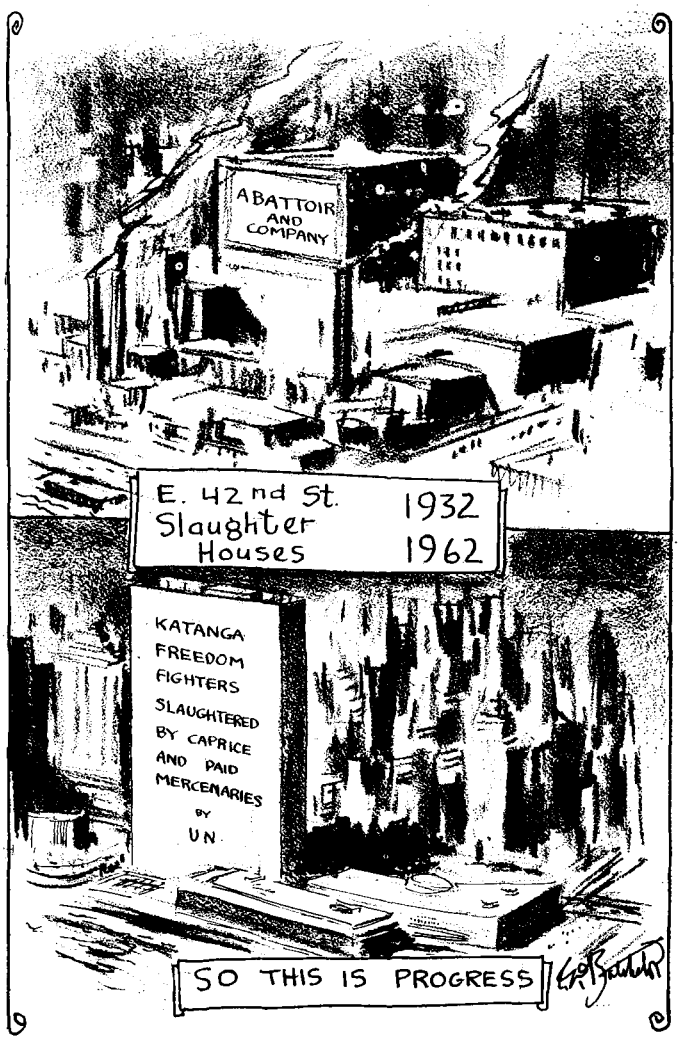
The terms of the debate over the UN that is destined to absorb so much public energy in the months ahead would seem to be much the same on both sides of the Atlantic, though the lines are thus strangely crossed. The hands that Messrs. Stevenson, Bowles, Rowan and Harlan Cleveland clasp across the seas are not those of their counterparts in the government of our ally, pledged to the defense of the West, but of the chiefs of an opposition party whose program aims toward socialism, nuclear disarmament and appeasement.

Under the UN Yoke

Over the past year a friend of NATIONAL REVIEW's has regularly been seeing, because of the nature of his job, the representatives of the Congo's "central (Leopoldville) government" to the UN and the U.S. (the individuals change rather rapidly). He reports that most of them are decent enough chaps, and in private conversation not at all the firebreathing anti-Katangese of their public performances. They all believe, he says, that a highly centralized Congo government is impossible. If the former Belgian colony is to be held together at all, it will have to be done, in their view, through some sort of *federated* structure. Thus their estimate is the same as Tshombe's. And, our friend further reports, most of them have wanted nothing better than to get together with Tshombe to work things out, African to African.

But this the masters of the UN, who have them surrounded at home and abroad by guns, advisers, and money, have not permitted. Dag Hammarskjold, U Thant and their colleagues in the UN *apparat*, under the combined pressures of the neutralist ultras and the Communist bloc, with the complacent connivance of the U.S., have decreed that—whatever the will of its inhabitants—the Congo must be a "unitary state" with a "centralized regime." To achieve this the "secessionist regime" of Katanga must be liquidated. Against such a phalanx of the high and mighty, the poor Congolese could only submit.

In spite of the tender loving care with which the press helps the UN keep the content of its Congo policy and actions from prying eyes, the facts are becoming generally known. After knowledge comes indignation. The declaration of the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, which dramatically broke the curtain in this country, was followed by protests from many leading citizens and journals of both parties. Our press has notably failed to make it known that a still more inclusive protest and indignation have swept every Western nation, and not a few of the young nations of Asia and of Africa itself.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KATANGA FREEDOM FIGHTERS SLAUGHTERED BY CAPRICE AND PAID MERCENARIES BY UN
SO THIS IS PROGRESS

Typical is the public letter addressed to President de Gaulle by a distinguished group of Frenchmen, belonging to all parties except the Communist: among them, the novelist, Jules Romain; Andre François-Poncet, former ambassador to the U.S. and now President of the International Red Cross; Mme. Jacqueline Thomé-Patenotre, President of the France-America Association; Jacques Raphael-Leygues, Vice-President of the Gaullist group in the Assembly; Maurice Schumann and Maurice Faure, both former Premiers, and many others:

"Fire is raging in central Africa. . . . We are in the presence of a truly suicidal folly of the West. The fact that nothing whatever is undertaken, or even suggested, against the secession of the Communist Gizenga, in Stanleyville, proves that in the end the

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A Sane Policy

(From the Harvard Crimson October 10, 1961)

To the Editors:

It has been brought to our attention that certain elements among the passengers and crew favor the installation of "life" boats on this ship. These elements have advanced the excuse that such action would save lives in the event of a maritime disaster such as the ship striking an iceberg. Although we share their concern, we remain unalterably opposed to any consideration of their course of action for the following reasons:

1. This program would lull you into a false sense of security.
2. It would cause undue alarm and destroy your desire to continue your voyage in this ship.
3. It demonstrates a lack of faith in our Captain.
4. The apparent security which "life" boats offer will make our Navigators reckless.
5. These proposals will distract our attention from more important things, *i.e.*, building unsinkable ships. They may even lead our builders to false economies and the building of ships that are actually unsafe.
6. In the event of being struck by an iceberg (we will never strike first) the "life" boats would certainly sink along with the ship.
7. If they do not sink, you will only be saved for a worse fate, inevitable death on the open sea.
8. If you should be washed ashore on a desert island, you will be unaccustomed to the hostile environment and will surely die of exposure.
9. If you should be rescued by a passing vessel, you would spend a life of remorse mourning over your lost loved ones.
10. The panic engendered by a collision with an iceberg would destroy all vestiges of civilized human behavior. We shudder at the vision of one man shooting another for the possession of a "life" boat.
11. Such a catastrophe is too horrible to contemplate. Anyone who does contemplate it obviously advocates it.

Committee for a Sane Navigational Policy,
Stephan A. Khinoy '62,
Robert Fresco '63,
Richard W. Bulliet '62,
Donald M. Scott '62.

UN action can only serve to pave the road of totalitarian Communism toward the heart of the dark continent; and proves also that the excuse of promoting 'Congolese unity' is an hypocrisy.

"The UN, which has shown nothing but demagogy and impotence in its avowed mission of ensuring peace, suddenly discovers the energy of a dragon in the task of crushing a country whose sympathies—whatever may be thought of its internal regime—obviously go to the free world. The UN troops attack hospitals, schools and convents, machinegun civilian populations, destroy economic installations without military value, indulge in looting, kill the wounded.

"We confront a crisis that dishonors humanity. That an allied government condones this action, and, worse, supplies it with arms, is an aberration beyond understanding. . . ."

Wisdom

From "Organizing Our Foreign Policy," by Charles Burton Marshall, New Republic, *Dec. 25:* Of the [Kennedy Administration foreign policy] staff at the apex, a principal characteristic is an extraordinary preponderance of academic men—writers and professors, honorable professions both, but still professions preoccupied with words, prone to regard verbalizing as completed action. One recalls Burke's words regarding men once elevated in France: "Among them, indeed, I saw some of known rank; some of shining talents; but of any practical experience in the state, not one man was to be found. The best were only men of theory." One recalls and wonders what became of the attribute—"a passion for anonymity"—enunciated a generation ago in connection with the original undertaking to provide adequate staff resources for the White House.

It would be interesting to know for sure, if we could, what connection there may be between the cited characteristic and an almost immoderate success achieved in verbalizing on the New Frontier, with a result of producing an appreciable gap between declaratory and efficient intentions. There may be some connection also with an unfortunate tendency toward what John Hay once described as the practice of shaking first a fist and then a finger.

One other preliminary consideration [to a statement and ranking of foreign policy goals] requires assuming answers to two simple questions. Are the Communists really Talleyrands and Richelieus wont to relapse occasionally into Bolshevik manners or are they Bolsheviks trying to pass themselves off sometimes as Talleyrands and Richelieus? Is there a prospect of realizing within the calculable future a world community, reliable as a foundation for security, or is the prospect ahead that of a continuing

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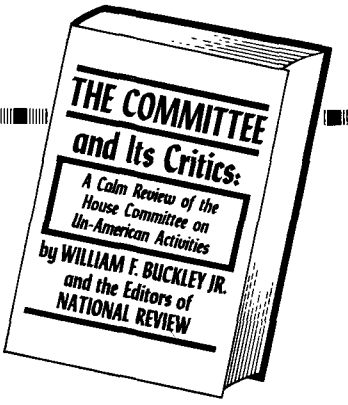
THE COMMITTEE
and Its Critics:
A Calm Review of the House Committee on Un-American Activities
by WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.
and the Editors of
NATIONAL REVIEW

Recently, no single instrument for combatting the Communist conspiracy has come under greater or more widespread attack than the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). The San Francisco riots, for example, were *designed* simply to discredit HUAC. And, as you know, defenders of the Committee have lacked the most vital weapon of all—*facts*.

Well, the facts are now available—everything you need to know about HUAC—in a brilliant new book by Wm. F. Buckley Jr., the Editors of *National Review*, and other distinguished experts . . .

THE COMMITTEE AND ITS CRITICS

This important book is by far the most complete and authoritative study of the Committee and its work ever undertaken. It includes the history of the Committee (including the Hiss Case); the way it works; what it has accomplished, plus a whole chapter on the San Francisco riots. Its 384 pages include contributions from such well-known anti-Communists as James Burnham (author of "Web of Subversion," etc.), Ralph de Toledano (author of "Seeds of Treason," etc.), and M. Stanton Evans (author of "Revolt on the Campus").

The Committee and Its Critics *will be published next month, and will sell everywhere for $4.95. But you can get it now for only $1.95 (or even free) in any of these three ways:*

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and dangerously divided world, in which we shall have to distinguish among those standing with us, those against us, and the undetermined ones who merely wish the big problems would go away? The right answer, I submit, is clearly the second proposition in each case.

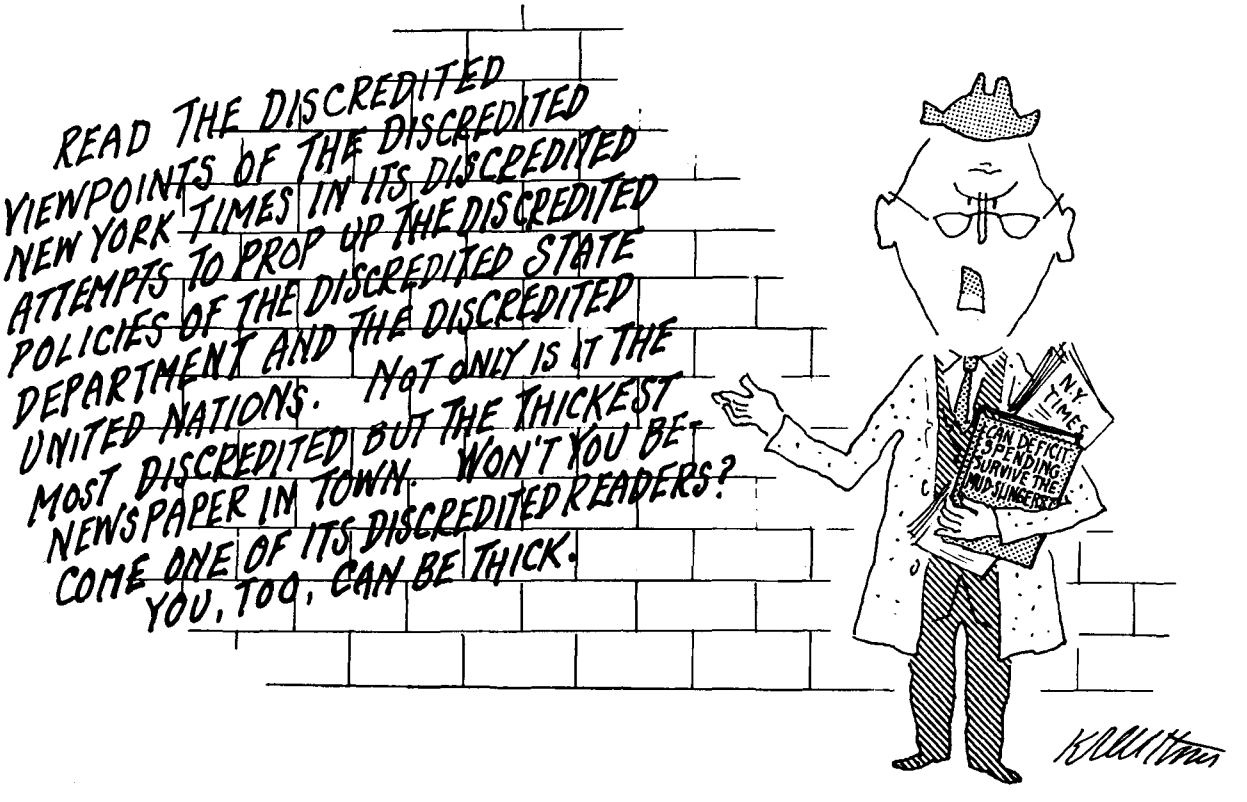
Maggie's Drawers?

General Walker's speech in Jackson, Mississippi, has distressed some of his best friends, for it is, notwithstanding the many truths it relates, undiscriminating —and here and there, downright misleading. There are, for instance, several references to "the Red Swede, Hammarskjold." Now if General Walker believes that all those who would have behaved as Hammarskjold behaved are Reds, then we are indeed surrounded by them. For Mr. Hammarskjold—the effect of whose career was indeed to accelerate the enemy's progress—had the backing at almost every point of the typical American Liberal, who, in Hammarskjold's place, would have done likewise. To call Hammarskjold a Communist is therefore to call virtually every American Liberal a Communist. And that is not merely wrong, it is conducive of a terrible misunderstanding. And terrible misunderstandings, in this area, can truly be said to contribute strength to the Communists. If General Walker cannot understand Dag Hammarskjold as other than a Red, he cannot understand Arthur Schlesinger Jr. as other than a Red, or for that matter Dwight Eisenhower. And if he cannot understand these men as other than Reds, he does not yet understand the tragedy of the Western decline, or the means by which to reverse it.

Edwin Walker was a superb general who had a superb career. He chose to resign from a pacific army, in order to carry the war to the home front. But the rules here are different: saturation bombing is not pro-Blue.

Who Owns New York?

Mike Quill, head of the Transport Workers Union, has squeezed all he wanted out of New York City's municipally-owned transportation facilities and out of most of the privately-owned bus lines, but two of them are still holding out. Mayor Wagner, whose re-election can hardly be considered a triumph over the forces of organized labor, has offered to these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N.Y. TIMES
CAN DEFICIT SPENDING SURVIVE THE MUD-SLINGERS?

"Obviously an irresponsible smear by the discredited Right Wing. It's important to distinguish between *discredited* smears like this one and *responsible* smears like 'Discredited Capitalism,' 'Discredited Loyalty Oaths,' 'Discredited Un-American Activities Committee' and 'Discredited Commander of the 24th Division,' where the shoe is on the other foot."

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two private bus lines certain tasty morsels like a fare increase to cover the cost of Mike Quill's new demands, but the companies won't budge. So the strike is on.

Now Mayor Wagner is the Mayor Of All The People, not just the Mayor of the Transport Workers Union, and so it behooves him to spare The People any inconvenience. Therefore, in order to allow Mike Quill's boycott of the bus companies to proceed indefinitely with minimum inconvenience to The People and maximum inconvenience to the bus companies, Mayor Wagner has benevolently allowed the Transit Authority to increase its service; has suspended the law forbidding taxicabs to offer pooled rides; has suspended certain parking regulations in order to encourage the use of private automobiles; has shifted some school hours to relieve the morning traffic jam; and has suffered his Commissioner of Labor to announce that "the union at this point is not involved."

Well, what is involved, then? The monopoly power of organized labor? Political bias toward organized labor? Municipal intervention through the authority to set fares; issue franchises; limit the number of taxicabs; dictate how those cabs shall operate; discourage the use of private automobiles; operate transportation facilities? Public apathy?

In the last fifteen years or so, the average fare in NYC has trebled, while the transportation companies have hardly earned their keep. Clearly the companies have not gained. The People, paying ever more for ever less, clearly have not gained. That leaves Mike Quill and the gang at City Hall, who will continue to fatten on The People's tribute until The People wake up.

The Trust-Busting Mania

The Kefauver subcommittee and the Anti-Trust Division of the Justice Department have reached the manic stage in their application of anti-trust rhetoric. The Justice Department wants to force General Electric to put all 250,000 of its different products under a legal prohibition against any price-fixing that would have the effect of reducing competition. The Kefauver subcommittee wants GE and Westinghouse to produce profit-and-loss figures for virtually every product, on the assumption that it's bad to make a profit on X if that subsidizes a loss on Y.

All of this simply denies the facts of business. It is the objective of management to beat the competition, and if management does so through low prices, the buying public gains. Some 2,500 automobile companies have gone out of business since Henry Ford cranked up his #1; hundreds of little airlines failed before the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 *cartelized* the industry; thousands of inefficient enterprises go under every year. Failure is one byproduct of competition. Yet the Anti-Trust Division seems to have distilled from the law the dictate, Henceforth No Business Shall Fail.

And if a business can't develop product Y using profits from X, then an airline ticket from Boston to New York will cost as much as a ticket from New York to Miami; it will be illegal for any company to develop new products from the profits of already established lines; it should be illegal for the Federal Government to borrow at 4 per cent in the bond market and loan at 2 per cent through Rural Electrification; telephone companies will have to charge money for telephone books; and it will make no difference whether a large company is broken into little pieces, since every separate operation must be conducted at the statutory return on investment, and no profits may be used for innovation.

Further: even if a company succeeds in dominating its industry in this country, it remains exposed to competition from foreign producers; competition from alternative domestic products (copper *vs.* aluminum, railways *vs.* autos); competition from potential producers who will start up if the "monopolist" raises prices too high; the unpredictable competition of innovation (movies *vs.* television).

The trust-busting mania amounts to a violent assault on the principle of free competition in all its many forms and proceeds either from bureaucratic ignorance of economic laws or from a concealed effort to disintegrate, cartelize, and regulate American business. If Congress would study the present activities of the Kefauver subcommittee and the Anti-Trust Division, it would rewrite or repeal much of the law on the books. For that law is opposed to economic law, and economic law cannot be repealed. It can only be ignored, at the price of stagnation and disaster.

Notes and Asides

With this issue, ladies and gentlemen, NATIONAL REVIEW *really* goes public. For years we have had mail: Why can't I find NATIONAL REVIEW at my newsstand? To which we have replied: Because we cannot afford to send it to your newsstand. We used to distribute only in Washington and New York, and at a few college newsstands. But during the summer and fall, we slowly, stealthily, increased the ration we gave to the newsstand suppliers, and to our amazement found that the percentage of sales did not diminish. Thus did we soar from 2,000 distribution to 7,000. Along came a distributing entrepreneur, a Madman Muntz type, who caught us in just the right frame of

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mind, and said: "Let me have 30,000 copies of NATIONAL REVIEW! I think I can sell them!" Tremblingly, we gave the order to the printer: and the copies should now be all over the United States. Ladies and gentlemen, please eat NATIONAL REVIEW for breakfast, lunch and dinner. And here is an opportunity to tell your friends they can obtain a copy—by merely going to any quality newsstand. As soon as we have the sales figures (it takes several weeks), we'll let you have them. Our print run, by the way, is now 90,000 copies: the largest print run for any journal of opinion in the United States.

Last fall, we put out a gentle little feeler asking you to express your views on a change in the cover design to utilize four colors. We received an avalanche of mail which, curiously, split 50-50 between the traditionalists and the neoterics. The latter said: if it will help raise circulation, do it; and damn the torpedoes. The former said, What? Alter that beautiful design? "You may as well," said one gentleman, "put a nude woman on the cover." To which he added with a wink, "P.S. Understand I have nothing against nude women *per se*."

We have sided with the traditionalists. But—you will have noted—we shall make use of additional color: by putting some device or other somewhere on the cover (a fortnight ago it was the Star of Bethlehem, in gold; this week, the red and yellow pickets) to add a little visual piquancy, related to a feature in the issue, or to the season. But these will be decorous, and decorative, and will never wag the dog —our cover remains essentially the same. We hope you will like our little furbelows.

No sooner had we reached the decision to put extra color into our cover than we had the good news that Kentile, manufacturers of tile floors—of yummy tile floors, we should have said—had reserved thirteen of our back covers during 1962 for four-color advertisements, making the entire operation easier technically. We are glad to say that the back cover has been reserved, in color, by advertisers for every issue of 1962. Happy New Year!

A Message from the Publisher

Beginning with the first issues in 1962, *National Review Magazine* and *National Review Bulletin* will be dated Tuesday of the second week following the press run—or eleven days after the issue goes into the mails, rather than eight days as heretofore. However, there will be no change whatever in the actual mailing date.

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

For the Record

Behind-the-scenes struggle developing between Gen. Maxwell Taylor and John Kenneth Galbraith. Taylor, who favors strong U.S. stand in South Vietnam, feels Galbraith's insistence that U.S. work through International Control Commission (Canada-Poland-India) will undermine new clean-out-the-Viet-Cong campaign. . . . Hard anti-Communists in Washington delighted over ousting of new State Department Security Chief Salvatore Bontempo. (Lost his job through National Review?) Feeling among them, however, is that acting security chairman Cieplinski—although they rate him hard on Communist issue—should not replace Bontempo. Reason: Cieplinski has close relatives in Poland, i.e., he's vulnerable. . . . William Wieland, fired as director of State Department's Caribbean desk after Castro take-over, now turns up on State Department committee which is reorganizing its security division.

Massachusetts Democrats have worked out following compromise. Ted Kennedy will back out of Democratic primary for the Senate and run in gubernatorial primary instead, leaving field to Edward McCormack, nephew of Speaker-to-be John McCormack. . . . White House putting pressure on Democratic leaders to pitch in for Sen. Fulbright in Arkansas. . . . Within next fortnight George Romney, of American Motors, will announce his candidacy in Michigan gubernatorial race to oppose Democratic Gov. John Swainson. Romney, a Liberal Republican, being groomed as dark horse candidate for 1964 in case Rockefeller should be tripped up. . . . (Rockefeller boosters worried over report that a) there will be a next Mrs. Rockefeller and b) that she's a Catholic divorcée—certainly a major factor in heavily Catholic New York State.)

Max Clos of Figaro reports that commanding general of Indian Gurkhas in the Congo ordered his troops not to take any white captives in the Katanga fighting. . . . Belgian Senate has voted down $710,000 allocation — Belgium's contribution to UN expenses for 1962. . . . White House has received over 500 letters from Belgium protesting U.S. support of Katanga invasion.

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A New Look at a Controversial Committee

The author, whose symposium on the House Committee on Un-American Activities will be published next month, looks at the Committee and its critics, and makes, calmly, some penetrating observations

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

My formal interest in this field grew out of a personal experience with ignorance. It was a college gathering, and in the course of the proceedings someone entered a ritual crack at the House Committee on Un-American Activities with great effect upon the audience. The surprise did not lie in the audience's instinctive animosity toward the committee (every college sophomore knows one must disdain *any* organization so unchic as to pursue a thing called Un-American Activities), but in the quality of the jibe that provoked it. There was no wit or precision in the taunt, no passion, even—I even forget the exact words. It is as though a veteran of the Spanish War got up at a right-wing rally and stirred the audience by shouting, "Remember the Maine!" The experience threw me back to my college days, which began during the euphoria after the war, when if you said anybody else was a Communist, or a pro-Communist, or that any organization was, or ever had been, or ever would be, a Communist front, why you were a witch-hunter, and everybody knew what to do to witch-hunters in those days, namely, burn them.

Then, in 1948, poor Mr. Henry Wallace permitted himself to be run for the Presidency of the United States by a group of pros who hugged the Communist Party line even as you and I, edging our way across the peak of the Matterhorn, would hug a defile. Simultaneously, Stalin was gobbling up the satellites, stealing our secrets, and showing at every opportunity, with which he was amply provided, his contempt for the bourgeois notion that the alliance could survive the war. The climate changed, the existence of an undercover international Communist apparatus was garishly revealed by a succession of informants who submitted to the rack—testimony to the FBI, appearances before congressional committees, books, articles, personal appearances: and it became generally accepted that, in the words of Dwight Macdonald, in fact there were, loose in our society, little witches like Judith Coplon, and little wizards like Alger Hiss; and for a few years the community settled down to accepting the realities which the enemy imposed.

Criticisms Analyzed

It seems as though we must go through it all again. For in the past few years, for complex reasons in which figures the great opposition which Senator McCarthy generated, we are back to something that resembles the general indifference among the opinion makers to the problem of Communist subversion which beset us during the postwar years. There are differences, notably the general agreement on the fact of Soviet intransigence. But along with it goes the fixed conviction, so frequently avowed by our governors of opinion, that the threat is exclusively "external," that those who talk of an "internal" threat are at best deluded, at worst suffering from paranoia; that therefore the existence of a congressional committee devoted to the internal dimension of the Soviet threat is at best an affront upon reality, at worst an agency that seriously compounds the confusion in our thinking. And that quite apart from the irrelevance of such an agency in the present situation, we should oppose its existence because it does positive damage to our way of life, and belies our implicit commitment to the idea of the free society.

These are important criticisms. In any attempt to analyze them, one must put forward one's premises. One of mine is that the Soviet threat is real, a non-controversial assumption shared by the entire spectrum of non-Communist opinion in this country. But a secondary premise—and here I might stand on debatable ground—is that in the final analysis, the distinction between the internal and the external threat is unreal: that the scope of the Communist effort transcends the conventional barriers, and that therefore the conventional vocabulary is anachronistic. Thus—I believe—the activities of the congressional investigating committee cannot realistically be detached from the activities of the CIA, if you like, the Pentagon, the United States Information Agency, or foreign aid, or any of the manifold enterprises whose common purpose is to insure the security of the Republic.

Even if that assumption is accepted, we are left with residual problems which anyone concerned with the preservation of freedom must face. Assuming the need for a totalist response to the Communist threat, excuses could be made for reordering the entire structure of American life. We often hear the rhetorical cry for a "total" response to the Communist challenge. And no doubt the American people, if it proved necessary, would make "any sacrifice whatever," to use the phrase of President Kennedy, to survive the threat. But after all, that is rhetoric. We are free men, and we accept impositions upon our freedom only as it proves necessary to accept them. We do not want to sacrifice a single freedom which we need not sacrifice in order to guard the Republic. We fight, after all, not only for the future, but for the here and now. The Communists

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may before they are done with us require the garrison state, a government-managed economy, the suspension of civil liberties—the totalist response. But the best instincts of American freemen demand that we stay as free as we can possibly be consistent with the threat to the ship of state, and it is wrong to sacrifice a single freedom heedlessly. We are, as a people, generally agreed that we must tax ourselves mercilessly to maintain our armed services; that we must pay the bill of the CIA, and of the USIA, and, to the extent necessary, of foreign aid, military and economic, for our allies. We accept a Federal Bureau of Investigation which (albeit with decorum) necessarily trafficks in tapped telephones, secret informants, and all that grimy business that goes against the grain of a people who value highly the importance of privacy. The question has arisen in serious quarters whether we ought also to accept a House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Third Premise

One must crystallize the arguments against the Committee and analyze them in the light of our dual commitment to the national defense and a free society. I should have said that my third premise, shared by most American conservatives, is this: that the state wants constant watching, because it is, notoriously, the principal instrument for the oppression of free men. American conservatives, I think it safe to generalize, have in recent years resisted with a consistency they would match up against that of any other half dozen persons, the accumulation of power in the government of the United States. Their deliberations on the matter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities should be viewed in this light.

It is in this context that I seek to illuminate a number of questions, in very general terms: 1) Does HUAC (the House Committee on Un-American Activities) perform licitly? 2) Does it perform a necessary function? 3) Does it harmonize with our free institutions? And 4), if not, should it go? Or should our free institutions move over far enough to accommodate it?

The principal enemy of purposive thought is of course ignorance. It is not easy to exaggerate the depth of the ignorance, in critical quarters, of the Committee and its work. I do not make this judgment invidiously. I was myself stupendously ignorant of the scope of the committee's work even at the moment six months ago when I undertook to put together a volume on the committee. The ignorance of particulars, from which I have suffered, becomes an ignorance of generalities where others, so quick to criticize the Committee, are concerned. I have no doubt that many of the *tricoteuses* would modify their demands for the Committee's bloody execution if they actually took the time to survey the Committee's work. I do not suggest for a minute that all those who patiently examined the Committee's work would become the Committee's supporters. Some would probably feel that even after measuring its work against the exigencies of our tormented age, on balance HUAC is a liability rather than an asset. But their opinion on the matter would then be responsibly taken, whereas now it is, in many cases, ill-advised; prejudiced, to use the dread word.

Kenyon College Symposium

I have here somewhere a thickish pamphlet put together and mimeographed by the Kenyon (College) Council to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It contains a most valuable semi-impromptu symposium by members of the Kenyon faculty concerning HUAC, conducted last May. No less than 33 professors contributed their feelings, in 500 words or less, on HUAC, and of these all but five favored its abolition, or radical reform. Professor A. begins by announcing that *"Since HUAC is not a judicial body but a fact-finding one, a special set of rules should be formulated controlling its investigations. . . ."* But HUAC is *not* merely a fact-finding body. It is also an *evaluative* body—a factor of considerable importance. And it *has*, and has had for several years, a special set of rules, patterned after recommendations by a committee of a bar association, and by the members of the House of Representatives.

Professor B. is against HUAC because it is engaged in *"stigmatizing unpopular ideas and intimidating those who believe or express such ideas."* One wonders, is pro-Communism, in the judgment of Professor B., an "unpopular idea"? Or is it something more, and does he have in mind the Committee's persecution of non-Communist unpopular ideas? But on the record, HUAC has gone after pro-Communists only (and here and there a pro-fascist, or "hate" group). It may be that in going after Jones it falsely attributed pro-Communism to him—but that is a different charge from the one Professor B. makes—and is the difference between an honest mistake, caused by sloppiness, or stupidity, and a conscious hypocritical pursuit of a wrong policy. Has HUAC been stigmatizing non-Communist ideas? Have Liberals about whom it could not reasonably be said that they got involved in some way or other with Communists, or pro-Communist enterprises, thus exciting the reasoned curiosity of the Committee, felt the Committee's lash? Where are they?

Professor C. asks for abolition. *"The necessary function of a House committee is to draft legislation, and in all the years that the committee has been in existence it has not done this or else very little of it."* It is not a necessary function of a House committee to draft legislation. A House committee may, without drafting a single piece of legislation, occupy itself usefully in overseeing the operations of government, or attempts to influence government, and needs no other warrant. But in fact, HUAC has created a considerable body of legislation, including the omnibus Internal Security Act of 1950. Professor C. may not consider that an important act of legislation. But the Communists do, and have fought it bitterly for years. It is, for all its shortcomings, an extremely ambitious attempt to frustrate the activities of professional subverters with minimum molestation to the freedom of non-conspiratorial dissent.

Professor D. remarks: *"If the Federal Bureau of Investigation is not at present adequately financed for the control of subversion within the country, then I think its budget should be increased by the sums of money now appropriated to the*

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House Committee." Leaping lizards, professor! Are we going, in the name of the extension of freedom, to ask the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a semi-secret extension of the police arm of the state, to a) hold hearings, evaluate and recommend legislation to the House of Representatives; b) interrogate witnesses (in open session?) in connection with matters

which are not clearly proscribed by the law, but which relate to the internal security; c) maintain and make widely available to duly authorized legislators and agencies of the government files and reports on pro-Communist activities? Would the professor really prefer that the police, in the privacy of their Ministries of Love, undertake the work at hand? Let him read the description of the way the Canadians, via the RCMP, handle *their* problem of subversion—if he is in the mood for horror.

Professor F. wants to know just what it means to be "un-American," and generalizes that *"in practice [HUAC's] activities . . . have been devoted almost entirely to the harassment and intimidation of persons and institutions whose views are noticeably to the left of those held by Everett Dirksen, William Buckley, and Barry Goldwater."* Does he really believe that, poor man? *"I have not heard that the committee has ever questioned the objectives of the Ku Klux Klan. . . ."* But the Committee has, see, *e.g.,* House Report Vols. 1-6, 9-12, 14 Vols. 1, 2, 6-F. *". . . Their hearings are not hedged about with such basic protections as the right to consult counsel. . . ."* Not only are witnesses entitled by the Committee's rules to counsel; meetings have actually been suspended when witnesses have appeared without counsel. Not that Professor F. doubts the occasional necessity for a congressional investigation, nor is himself confused about the composition of un-Americanism: *"If we must have an HUAC, it might well look into the real intentions and methods of the people who financed Joe McCarthy and are sponsoring Mr. Welch."*

Professor H. also disapproves the designation "un-American" (as do I). *"Surely,"* he comments ruefully about the land of Huey Long, Carmine De Sapio, Harry Truman, Kissin' Jim Folsom, and Wayne Morse, *"we have the right to expect a higher degree of political sophistication from the men who represent us."* A different Professor H. fears that *"the methods adopted by the Committee have done much to destroy faith in the principles of democratic government."* Really? Where? A third Professor H. finds that *"HUAC makes flagrant denials of constitutional rights."* But in fact it does not, and in published history has only once been rebuked by the Supreme Court. Professor R. objects because HUAC seems to be arguing that *"whatever pleases the Committee therefore and necessarily has the force of law which binds conscience."* What *can* he have in mind?

Professor S. says, *"If the reputation of even* one [his emphasis] *honest, innocent individual has been tarnished by the Committee, then I feel that whatever good, if any, which the Committee might have effected has been more than counter-balanced, and the Committee has thereby outlived its usefulness"*—and who knows, Professor R. may also believe that if even *one* honest, innocent individual has been sent to jail under the common law, we should abandon the common law, as having outlived its usefulness. . . . Professor S. announces that *"The chief effect of the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been to enforce silence or despair upon conscientious and intelligent persons."* Indeed? The Committee no doubt wishes to silence and to cause to despair, those conscientious and intelligent persons who plot the overthrow of our free institutions. Is it their despair the professor is mourning? Surely not: he must mean other people's despair, the despair of free and loyal men. Are *they* silent? Surely not all, for there is much noise in the air. Certainly they are not silent at *Kenyon.* Do they despair? Perhaps. But is there *cause* for them to despair? If they knew the truth about HUAC, would they despair less? I profoundly believe so, which is another reason why it is useful to isolate the real from the unreal criticisms of the House Committee, and to rescue discussion of it from the snake pit to which the putatively best informed, most sophisticated, and most profound members of our community have, despairingly, consigned it.

Correct on One Point

With what specific criticisms of HUAC might a supporter of the Committee agree? It seems to me that on at least one important theoretical point, the Committee's critics are correct.

Criticism of HUAC falls into three general categories. The first is generic criticism: of the mere existence of a congressional agency which consciously seeks the means by which to embarrass, or harass, or neutralize, the political activities of a particular group. That argument is easily disposed of on the traditional grounds of the clear and present danger argument, fortified by the distinction Professor Sidney Hook has elaborated in his book, *Heresy Yes, Conspiracy No.* But under the category falls the more sophisticated criticism of the Committee's name: How, Professor Henry Steele Commager (for instance) asks, is anyone to say, and on what authority, what is An Un-American Activity?

It seems to me Mr. Commager has a point, though not perhaps exactly the same point he seeks to run off with. Confronted with Mr. Commager's objection, Professor Sidney Hook observed: "If it is impossible to say what is un-American, then it is likewise impossible to say what *is* American. In which case, how come Professor Commager undertook to write a book called *The American Mind?*"

A clever point, useful to the debater. Indeed, Mr. Commager's title is his own tacit recognition that every country has its own traditions and even, broadly speaking, consensus—with reference to which an anthropologist, or historian, can re-

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sponsibly, even if a little arbitrarily, generalize that this custom or that, this innovation or that, is un-American, or un-French, or un-Iroquois.

Certainly it should be safe to say that a call for the abolition of the monarchy in England would be un-English—to say it as a plain, observable, empirically and historically verifiable fact. But it is quite another thing to say that a Royal Commission should be established to persecute those who hold to such un-English views on the monarchy. It might indeed be held that to license a royal commission to discourage even concededly un-English views, is in itself an un-English thing to do, so that whereas we are agreed that anti-monachist agitation is un-English, so is it un-English to proscribe anti-monarchist agitation. And whereas the offender in the first instance is an individual or a group of individuals, the offender in the second instance, speaking with the authority of the House of Commons, is the graver offender. It is too bad if John Jones undertakes un-English activities; it is shocking if Her Majesty's Government undertakes un-English activities. . . .

What Is Un-National?

We should, I think, reject Mr. Commager's notion that a dynamic and changing society, which governs itself pragmatically, and is continually experiencing, and assimilating, the disorderly demands of history, cannot therefore responsibly decide what is and what is not un-national. It is all too clear that many national ideas change, and that what is un-American today was not necessarily un-American yesterday, nor will be tomorrow. But the historically unimpeachable fact that a people's customs and traditions and mores change does not commit a society to the doctrine that it should hold lightly its current commitments. A proper historical skepticism is one thing: quite another is the anomie of the uncommitted, unrooted man. Because we may take it for granted, considering the turbulent movements of history, that tomorrow our society will believe differently, we do not believe less strongly today, nor cease to assert our views, or protect them, by the use of the common sanctions, legal, moral and social, by which a society shields its own institutions and personality.

If, then, Professor Commager, or Professor Vernon Parrington, or whoever, may as historians and critics pronounce on what is, and what is not, typically, or profoundly, or congenitally "American," has Congress the corresponding right to use the word "un-American" and mean something by it? Perhaps. But Congress should proceed with a moderation greater than that which Messrs. Commager and Parrington have shown in their apodictic dispositions. Even granting the intellectual validity of an effort to distinguish the "American" from the "un-American" at any particular point in time, it is not a game Congress should play. When the professors are mistaken, the mischief is limited to the influence they exercise. Not so with Congress. I do not maintain that in time of emergency Congress should not exercise, nor does not have the power to declare implicitly what is and isn't un-American—it has done this every time it passes a conscription law overreaching the objections of the pacifist, or revolutionary, in behalf of the survival of the nation, understood as the survival of a nation explicitly dedicated to a set of values.

I agree that Congress should proceed very reluctantly to act as fugleman for what-is and what-isn't American, what-is and what-isn't un-American. In the popular usage, "un-American" is simply a term of opprobrium, hurled mostly by indiscriminate polemicists against those with whom they disagree. Harry Truman called HUAC itself un-American, critics of HUAC call Southern segregationists un-American, opponents of the social security law have called *it* un-American—and no doubt the day will come when an official of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy will call un-American those who would rather be dead than Red.

But we are not concerned here with the use of the term as a knuckle duster, rather with its use when it carries, even rhetorically, the great leverage of the law. I side with those who believe that HUAC's mandate is too broad. The Committee should not, in my judgment, consider itself free to explore "Un-American Activities," because when a semi-autonomous congressional committee has a running mandate to investigate any and all Un-American Activities, it is given, without the reassuring processes of public and congressional debate, standing and plenipotentiary *semantical* powers.

The Committee's critics are constantly warning the people of the United States that HUAC not only will, almost certainly, end up denouncing as un-American everything that doesn't conform with its most freshly baked bias, but that in fact it has already gone a long way in this direction. The latter charge does not happen to be true. But the potential *is* there. In the past, HUAC has confined itself to investigating people and groups of people, who, prima facie evidence indicated, were acting in behalf of the Communist conspiracy, or who were being victimized by it. The exceptions are investigations of racist and neo-fascist activity. I happen to believe true fascists, *e.g.*, Fritz Kuhn of the prewar Nazi Bund, or Lincoln Rockwell of the American Nazi Party, are un-American in the provable sense, *i.e.*, their ideals and manners do not have historical antecedents in respectable American practice. Racism, on the other hand, if

Three to Grow On

Welfare and Farewell

The welfare state
may insulate
you from the strife
of daily life.
But daily life
when shorn of strife
can't insulate
you from the state.

Circular, Cyclical

History is a wail
that
like a cat
chases its tale.

Sore Dude, Rude Horse

Staying on perplexes
And falling often vexes
Easterners whose hex is
Discovering that cactus
Is sure as death
—In Texas.

ED MURRAY

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by that is meant white supremacism and its accompanying mystique, is not un-American in the historical sense. It is despicable—but there we go, and there the Committee might go: that which is despicable is un-American—so let's investigate? . . .

Lots of ideas are despicable, but those of us who favor limited government want to let despicable ideas be disciplined by the market place. It is not despicable movements—or even un-American movements, in the sense of mutational movements, or movements clearly unrooted in the American tradition—that we want to see watched over by a Committee of Congress. It is that despicable idea (whether historically un-American or not) *which is being sustained by foreign and powerful enemies of the Republic.* It was correct for the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities to hold extensive investigations into the activities of Fritz Kuhn, who was actively attempting to influence American foreign policy in behalf of a foreign dictatorship, and doing so by the use of intrigue, false propaganda, and espionage and subversion. It would, I think, be preposterous to investigate systematically the activities of George Lincoln Rockwell and his two dozen swastikaed cretins who go about plying their pathology in the fever-swamps of the crazy-Right. If, *per impossibile,* Lincoln Rockwell's movement were to grow to the point where, as an arm of a robust international conspiracy, it provoked the responsible curiosity of the Congress of the United States, it should then be investigated—by a Committee especially mustered to look into the neo-Nazi movement, *i.e.,* a Committee mandated, after all discussion in Congress over whether the need appears to have arisen to investigate, and consider legislation designed to inhibit the growth of the Neo-Nazi movement.

Change Committee's Name

I deplore the Committee's name. I believe we should have a standing House Committee on Communist Activities. I believe the durability and resourcefulness of the Communist movement justifies, as a matter of efficiency and economy, the use of a standing committee, as opposed to an ad hoc committee. I'd like to see such a Committee die the day after the Communist threat ends, but so would I like to see the Armed Services Committee die the day after we can cease to worry about the possible need for armed services. Meanwhile, the Communists exist, they continue to do mischief, we have yet to find perfect legislative instruments for combatting them, they are an integral part of the international Communist conspiracy and must be engaged by the agency entrusted by the Constitution to provide for the common defense—so then let us have the Committee, but make the sensible concession to right-minded critics who fear the loose, omnipotent mandate.

Individual Rights

And the second category of criticism: It is said, as by the professors at Kenyon, that HUAC is out of harmony with the American tradition, that it is abusive of individual rights, that it has assumed uniquely judicial functions, and so on. These charges call for detailed factual answers, which I am prepared to give to the extent I am able. As I have intimated, having done the research, I conclude that HUAC is not inconsistent with American legislative tradition, and indeed, its critics have not succeeded in persuading even a court notoriously hospitable to civil rights horror stories, that it is falsely constituted. But more of these points later, and to the extent you desire.

The third general charge is that the Committee's work has by and large been done by self-seeking vulgarians, ignorant of or indifferent to the decent restraints of power. I do not choose to evaluate the performance of the members or staff of the Committee. On the abstract question, anyone would agree: if better men can be found to run the Committee, we are all for finding them. If better men can be found to run the White House, we are all in favor of finding *them,* too. (Some of us have been very much dissatisfied with the occupants of the White House during the past years, without ever having advocated the abolition of the Presidency, nor even having said much about the processes—though indeed they are subject to procedural and substantive criticism—by which they are elected.) The House of Representatives elects its own captains, and that is the way it will probably continue to be.

Fact-Finding

It is all very well to enjoin upon the members of HUAC a judicial disposition toward Communists. But *no* man who will read through one year's hearings by HUAC—any year's hearings—will expect so detached a bearing—or even commend it. The Committee is a fact-finding and evaluative body: but it does not pretend to be impartial in respect to the (remember: un-American) work of the enemy, whose deceits and stratagems and violence it is professionally engaged in probing. . . .Investigators report that Jones, identified under oath as a member of the Communist Party, has established a cell in the ganglion of a major industrial union, in an industry doing vital defense work for the government. Jones is subpoenaed. He arrives with his lawyer, an old-timer practiced in contumely against anti-Communists. To get to your office, you must pass pickets denouncing you as an inquisitor, a warmonger and a fascist. . . . You question Jones. Just a minute, he has a statement to make. It denounces you and the Committee and all your works and its, as a plot to bring fascism and militarism to America. You are an enemy of due process, a cynical betrayer of your oath to the Constitution, in league with the forces of hate; you hate liberty, decency, order, progress, Negroes, Jews, Catholics, peace. . . . There is a demonstration of approval in the audience—you call for order, and ask Jones whether he is still a member of the Communist Party. He consults his lawyer, and refuses to answer, opportunizing on every question to discourse upon your immorality, cowardice, and unconstitutionalism. . . . You direct him to answer. . . . He replies, in effect, go to hell, taking the First Amendment. He and his lawyer and his retinue flounce off, and the question whether he should have answered works its way through the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the House, to the Justice Department, to a grand jury, to a court. If Jones is very unlucky, he will be sentenced to spend up to a year in jail. But before then he will

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tour the country abusing you and the Committee, and everywhere he will receive standing ovations. Committees of scholars and literati will sign petitions in his behalf. Then perhaps the Supreme Court will, on a technicality, void the conviction. . . .

Such experiences as this do not make for irenic dispositions, and I am not even sure I could warm to the iceberg who succeeded in absolutely curbing what should be a passionate resentment of the impudence and treachery of declared enemies of the Republic, or a bitter dismay at their success in commending themselves to so many of their innocent countrymen.

They should not behave as politicians? I grant the more general proposition, that politicians should not behave like politicians, but until that law is enacted (and where will you find the politicians to vote for it?) it is foolish to expect otherwise. The members of the House Committee unquestionably will mint political credit out of what they do, as would the members of a housing, or anti-monopoly committee. It hardly seems fair to demand of a congressman that he renew his mandate every two years, that he spend a considerable amount of his time during those two years on the problems of internal security, and that he should desist, in his public relations with his constituency, from publicizing his own Committee's work, and his role in it.

Scope of Reports

And the final argument against the personnel of the Committee: that they do not know enough. Once again it becomes necessary to admit that nobody really knows enough—and certainly that would seem true of those who had a hand in shaping American foreign policy during the period when Communists engorged themselves upon a majority of the members of the human race.

But beyond that I venture to say, always with due respect to this venerable institution, that the Committee on Un-American Activities is responsible for the development of more serious information, of a didactically useful kind, than the typical department of political science in the typical university. Those of you who are shocked by what appears so exorbitant a claim should, before rejecting it out of hand, read closely some of the regularly published appendices, which are simply a catalogue and a drastic truncation of the hearings held by HUAC during the past fifteen years, and the reports it has published. The scope is extraordinary. What is the current strength of the Communists in the waterfront unions in Hawaii? What connection do the Communists maintain with organized gambling in Miami? How much money is the Soviet Union probably spending on paid propaganda in the Western Hemisphere? What is the opinion of a dozen Soviet academicians on the impact of the Twentieth Congress on Communist thought? What loopholes have the Communists uncovered in the immigration laws? What is the role of political assassination in the advancement of Communist Revolution? What is the biographical background of the *dramatis personae* of international Communism? What does Professor David Dallin's extensively documented graph of the movements in the Party line suggest is in store for the West? How does Professor Gerhart Niemeyer reckon the current bearing of Marxist-Leninist ideology on Soviet policy?

Hundreds of hearings, a thousand publications, a library of expert testimony, qualify the work of the Committee as a supremely valuable repository of expert knowledge on the scope and meaning and particularities of the Communist enterprise, valuable to the legislature, and indeed a source more valuable by far than what the typical student, taking every course in the curriculum, is likely to come up against in a major university, in his quest for a profound understanding of the most vital problem of our time. Supplement it with a reading of relevant works of Koestler, Camus, Burnham, Chambers, Sperber, Orwell, Malraux, Conrad, and you will arrive at something like a true understanding of the problem. How one wishes that the last three Presidents of the United States had read and understood some of the literature HUAC has made available!

The scholar may scorn *some* of HUAC's reports as simplistic, but these are, in the main, merely simple expressions (as is an elementary catechism) of profound studies to which some of the best informed minds in the country have contributed. The members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities are not, all of them, qualified to earn doctoral degrees in political science. But they seem nevertheless to have shown an intuitive apprehension of Communism which by empirical standards seems truer than that which the refined perceptions of some of our most conspicuous and learned academic and journalistic Kremlinologists have lavished upon us. No doubt it would do the members and staff of HUAC good to spend a year at Harvard perfecting their knowledge of the history and theory of Communism. But it might be more in point for some of the professors at Harvard—and Kenyon—to spend a year studying the literature of the House Committee on Un-American Activities—or, even better, sitting through a dozen of the Committee's hearings, and reflecting on their context.

Academic Default

I grope, finally, for the critical delinquency of the intellectuals as it relates to the House Committee on Un-

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American Activities and the national effort against internal-external subversion. There has been, I believe, a default by the academic profession, which has failed to put its enormous intellectual resources to work on the problem of how to craft sensitive and relevant and enforceable legislation which *can* be counted upon to make the necessary distinction between the heretic and the conspirator, to guide a Committee which, for all its experience, has failed to come up with truly satisfactory legislation aimed at encumbering and neutralizing the operations of the Soviet apparatus, covert and overt. The legislation that has been passed at the instigation of the Committee is, to be sure, much of it, useful. But much of it is not, and a certain amount of it is a mess. It took *eleven years* for the Supreme Court to uphold the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act. Yet even now, it is by no means ascertained whether the law will prove an enforceable impediment against the Communists in an age when subversion is so critical an instrument in international affairs. Here is where the intellectual community might have come to the nation's rescue, by putting forth its best efforts, much as it tried to do in attempting to prepare the postwar world for the special problems of international government, and continues to try to do with respect to the problems of public policy as regards the relationship between the races, and the workings of the economy.

The literature on the problem of internal security has been almost exclusively antagonistic and irrelevant: a mechanical and abstract projection of the platonic principles of John Stuart Mill's open society, a hostile and ideologized refusal to understand that the problems of internal security do exist, that they are real, that the members of Congress are truly and justly concerned with the morphological innocence of our present laws—in the age of scientific revolution. They might, in a word, have helped the Committee along, more than they have done. Instead, their operating premise (cf. the works on the subject of Robert Carr, Henry Steele Commager, James Wechsler, Alan Barth, Zechariah Chafee, Telford Taylor, *et al.*) seems to be: How shall we make it painless for an American citizen to contribute to the subversion of his country?

Arm of the Enemy

The profoundest question at issue is whether the open society can tolerate an unassimilable political minority if it is in league with great and powerful hostile foreign forces; specifically, whether the open society can tolerate Communists-at-large. The answer one most often hears at centers of elevated thought is a complacent pooh-pooh—based on the conspiracy's admittedly small membership. Another response, more congruent with reality some of us believe, focuses not on the exiguous membership of the Communist Party, but on its capacity, considering always its great international resources and contemporary concentrations of power, to do irreparable damage. In his dreams, Archimedes could not have fancied a lever greater than modern technology has given to the critically situated saboteur. The relatively new science of opinion-subversion can have, indeed, has had, lethal consequences for millions of people. There are fewer Communists in America today that twenty years ago, but America is in greater peril from Communists in general, and as the power of the enemy abroad increases, so necessarily does his arm here, unless we chop it off. It may be that the West is going to lose this one because of an organic sickness of which the First World War was the most drastic symptom. Marxist theology may be wrong in its diagnosis of the causes of the Western decline, while still being right in believing that the West's illness is terminal.

One of our problems is our enslavement in abstractions. It is an empirical question, not to be answered by Liberal dogmatic invocations, whether a Western nation can pursue a truly effective pro-Western policy while adhering to conventional libertarian attitudes towards the rights and privileges of dissent. Our Republic was forged on the assumption—to be sure, explicitly skeptical—that all points of view were, if not equally honorable, at least equally tolerable. Yet even Jefferson lifted himself up from some of his abstractions about the free society, far enough to denounce some of his contemporaries and their views as "swinish," and to consider tampering with the judiciary, in order to diminish their influence. Lincoln arrived painfully at the conclusion that some points of view were intolerable. These were men who, notwithstanding their devotion to the generally useful principle of freedom for dissenters, even for conspiratorial dissenters, acknowledged, with their pragmatic turn of mind, that requirements of reality transcend at the margin the workaday imperatives of the free society. It is only in our time that the idea of the open society was transmuted into Holy Writ, put forward as the first loyalty of free men. Before, the first loyalty of free men was to freedom—and freedom is not served by extending to the enemies of freedom, freedom to mine the city, and whistle while they work.

Frozen in Inaction

It is an ancient problem, how to deal with the enemies of freedom. The superstition that the hounds of truth will rout the vermin of error seems, like a fragment of Victorian lace, quaint, but too brittle to be lifted out of the showcase. The tragedy is that it is at this moment, when the state is so gravely threatened, we find ourselves frozen in inaction by lofty and other-worldly pronouncements of John Stuart Mill. We need to make definitional strides forward in a political theory of freedom suitable to a world in which things like Communists and atom bombs exist. It is nothing short of preposterous to tolerate an active conspiracy in our midst: and if the Constitution is not, as presently understood, resilient enough to cope with the contemporary requirements of survival, then the Constitution should be modified, as it has been before. The congressional investigating committee writhes under the dilemma, and needs understanding and help from those who, desiring the perpetuation of freedom, will realize with Macaulay that "a nation may be placed in such a situation that the majority must either impose disabilities or submit to them, and that what would, under ordinary circumstances, be justly condemned as persecution, may fall within the bounds of legitimate self-defense."

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Religion

Communism, Christianity, and the Judgment of God

WILL HERBERG

It has become a platitude among all right-thinking people that major responsibility for the upsurge of Communism in the modern world is to be traced to the "failure of the Church" in meeting the problems of the day, so that Communism is, in a very important sense, to be taken as a "judgment" of God upon the Church and its failures. I say this notion has become a platitude among all right-thinking people, and it seems slightly indecent to question it. Yet, like other *idées reçues*, it must be subject to periodic scrutiny if it is to preserve any meaning at all. After all, what *does* this notion mean, what considerations can be adduced to justify it, and what implications does it hold for our present perplexities?

Will Herberg

The upsurge of Communism, we are informed, is, in part at least, due to the failure of the Church. Specifically, we are told, it is the irrelevance of so much of nineteenth-century Christianity to the urgent problems of modern industrial mass society that has driven large masses to look elsewhere for salvation and meaning in life; Communism has gained its strength from its ability to fill the spiritual vacuum which the failure of Christianity has produced.

Such is the familiar argument; if taken seriously, however, it leads to some rather extraordinary conclusions. The United States, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, even Britain, seem to be singularly free from Communist infection; are we to conclude, therefore, that Christianity and the Church are particularly relevant in these countries, in contrast, let us say, to Christianity and the Church in Italy or France, where Communism is a powerful mass force? No one knowing the state of religion in this country, in Britain, and in the Scandinavian lands, would be foolhardy enough to venture such a conclusion. Indeed, the very people who decry the failure of the Church as leading to Communism are also those who are most caustic in denouncing the shallowness, the externalism, and the irrelevancy of religion in America, where there is no Communism among the masses.

Actually, of course, the relation is much more complicated: such factors as national history, political ethos, economic stability, and constitutional tradition are of fundamental importance; and the influence of the "religious factor" is often very difficult to trace. In any case, the old cliché will no longer serve. While it is true that Communism functions as an *Ersatz*-religion, there is no simple inverse relation between the strength of Communism and the vitality of Christianity.

Charge Against the West

This obvious confusion is of more than academic interest, for it is often employed by Christian critics to suggest that the West, because of its social, religious and cultural failures, bears responsibility for the rise and spread of Communism in the modern world: so that, as a consequence, the West does not come into the struggle against Communism with clean hands. In a larger sense, this charge is obviously true: everything that emerges within a culture is the responsibility of that culture. But if this truth is turned into a moral and religious judgment, it can prove false and misleading.

Perhaps the best way of uncovering the error is by examining the other side of the platitude with which we began this analysis—that Communism comes as the judgment of God upon a sinful West. Again, in the deepest sense, this is true: the prophetic faith strives to discern the purposes of God in our perils and disasters, as well as in our blessings and achievements. The Assyrian—the biblical equivalent of the Nazi—was (we are told) the "rod" of God's anger, and Attila the Hun was acknowledged to be the "scourge of God." But from this theological judgment it could not be, and was not, concluded that there must be something good, something right, in the Assyrian's program or the Hun's purposes. To translate the very sound theologoumenon that Communism is a divine judgment upon a sinful world into the notion that God is therefore sometimes "on the side of the Communists" is not only theological confusion: it is political and cultural demoralization. It may indeed be acknowledged that our truth—the truth of the West—being a mere human truth, is only a half or a quarter truth; but the lie we are up against—the totalitarian lie of German Nazism and Soviet Communism—is a *total* lie. It may require clarity, resolution, and a large measure of self-criticism to be able to fight a total lie with only a half truth; but it helps nothing to mitigate the totality of the lie and to pretend to find good in what is evil.

The Real Crime

Abraham Lincoln has much to teach us in this matter. In his Second Inaugural, Lincoln tried to plumb the deeper meaning of the dreadful war just drawing to an end. This (in part) is what Lincoln said:

> Both [North and South] read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. . . . The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to the man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He now gives to both North and South this terrible war, as

(Continued on p. 37)

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From Washington Straight

CATO

What kind of a congressional session can be expected? For the past three months members of Congress have been grazing in the grass roots. Now back in Washington most of them are reporting amazingly similar reactions to hometown opinion. With few exceptions congressmen found their constituencies restive. People are unhappy about foreign policy failures, domestic boo-boos, and the general tenor of Administration policies. And —such is the contradictory nature of the American electorate—they seem to feel, by and large, that John Fitzgerald Kennedy is doing a bang-up job of being President of the United States. If it were not for this latter fact we could expect all but the most jaded Administration supporters to come out fighting when the bell rings at noon January 10.

But the tremendous personal popularity of President Kennedy has given many congressmen, from both sides of the aisle, a sense of caution. They will reflect the current conservative trend that prevails back home, but don't expect many of them to pin the blame on Jack Kennedy.

Still, you can expect trouble for the Kennedy legislative program. The President's hopes for a broad federal aid-to-education bill, or a social-security based program of medical aid for the aged are all but doomed in this session.

The strategy now being discussed in GOP circles is this—attack the Kennedy programs, rip "the people around him" (Stevenson, Bowles, Schlesinger, etc.) but avoid frontal attacks on the President himself. Eventually, say the pros, the public will begin to identify JFK with his failures. But, until that time, the word is: hands off.

The Senate investigation of the "muzzling" of the military promises to be one of the Capitol's most spectacular shows. The White House is putting all kinds of pressure on Committee members to prevent the hearings from getting out of hand (Salinger's, that is). But South Carolina's Senator Strom Thurmond is loaded for bear on this one and, as a member of the Select Committee, does not intend to let the Administration get away with a whitewash. And from all reports, information now in Thurmond's hands guarantees that the hearings may enter broader and infinitely more intriguing fields than a mere exposé of civilian censorship of the military.

During the congressional recess, a Select Committee on Export Control, chaired by North Carolina's conservative Representative Paul Kitchen (D.) took a long hard look into the whole field of trade with the Soviet bloc. Dr. John Behrman, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs, one of many Administration witnesses, gave the best explanation of Administration policy. Trade with the Soviet Union, said Dr. Behrman, creates a dependency upon the supplier (the United States) on the part of Russia and will thus serve to lessen tension between East and West.

Administration witnesses said enough to convince at least some Committee members that we can look forward to bigger and better trade in the future with the Soviet bloc. We have already steadily watered down the list of items classed by the U.S. as "strategic" and permitted CoCom, the free world agency that controls export policy on trade with the Soviet bloc, to water down its list. By permitting CoCom to declassify strategic material the U.S. also, in effect, makes a similar declassification.

What can be expected as a result of these hearings? At least one Committee member, Representative Glen Lipscomb, has told friends that he is inclined, on the basis of the testimony developed in both open and closed Committee hearings, to favor an almost total embargo on any trade with the Soviet bloc, a vastly tightened system of classification of strategic materials for CoCom, and continued U.S. pressure upon our allies to follow suit. It is too early to tell if the other Committee members feel as strongly as the California congressman but it is a sure bet (well almost!) that the Committee will take a tough stand.

One sidelight on the hearings: they were almost totally ignored by the press. Press tables were nearly empty during most of them, but Soviet Embassy officials were present throughout. If our people don't recognize the importance of the matter at least the Soviet Union does.

Bits & Pieces—The U.S. has a six-to-one lead over the Soviet Union in nuclear delivery capability, Representative Mel Laird (R., Wisc.), a top member of the powerful Military Appropriations Subcommittee, told a radio audience here last week. Laird also ripped into the Administration for the foul-up in the reserve mobilization. The Wisconsin Republican has done his homework well on this subject and is wondering if the call-up mess was not a deliberate attempt on the part of Defense to discredit the reserves and get a congressional okay for the two more regular army divisions Defense is hankering after.

—Paul Corbin, the Democratic National Committee official whose career was outlined [*NR*, December 16], is reported on the way out. The word is that he will be gone within the next two weeks. But too many questions have been raised about his background to let the matter rest. Some congressmen want to know exactly how much Corbin has had to do with the hiring of government officials —and who they are.

—Representative John J. Rhodes (R., Ariz.) has received an answer to his letter to Attorney General Robert Kennedy re the Communist-dominated American Communications Association. Kennedy told Rhodes that he is prevented from moving against the union by restrictive SACB rules. Rhodes intends to seek legislation to close what appears to be a gaping hole in our security set-up.

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The Third World War

Root Fallacy

JAMES BURNHAM

A fortnight ago I examined our Congo predicament. The crisis of the UN-U.S. attack on Katanga revealed that our policy had led to a) a self-defeating local action, and b) a split with our NATO allies and the Western community.

Burnham

This Katanga action was concurrent with our action (granting a $133 million credit) toward Ghana, and our lack of action toward the Gizenga regime in Congo's Oriental Province and toward Nehru's seizure of Goa. These pairs (Katanga-Oriental, Ghana-Goa) fitted into a pattern that can be traced at least as far back as the Hungary-Suez crisis of November 1956.

The most striking feature of this pattern is a compound rule: *The United States can take the initiative against the Right, but cannot take the initiative against the Left.*

I explained this "uni-directional paralysis" by: a) "the belief that the main theater of the world drama is the underdeveloped region of Asia, Africa and Latin America"; b) "the practical orientation of our policy," derived from this belief, "on the 'uncommitted' ('neutralist') nations."

This policy inevitably sacrifices Western interests to the opinions and wishes of certain neutralist leaders. Since Moscow holds a veto over the neutralists, "our policy, by its own inner logic, is thus subject to the veto of our enemy."

Actually the pattern is built into the structure of the UN, granted our official attitude toward the UN. We aim to conduct our foreign policy so far as possible through the UN; we do not use our UN veto; the Soviet Union does; *ergo,* the Soviet Union has a veto over our policy.

No one, unless insane or treasonable, would deliberately permit his policy to be subject to his enemy's veto. Our leaders are not and have not been either madmen or traitors. One or both of the following must therefore be the case: either a) they have not understood the logic of their policy; or b) they have not recognized that Moscow—the Communist world enterprise—is *the enemy.*

Until 1961, misunderstanding on the first point was not surprising. But during 1961 the pattern was exposed in nearly every international incident. Continued misunderstanding results not from lack of evidence, but from unwillingness to look at the evidence piled around us.

A War and an Enemy

A similar unwillingness brings misunderstanding on the second point. Even those who come to realize that we have given Moscow a veto may not get too agitated over this extraordinary fact, because they do not think of Moscow as *the enemy* in a full and literal sense. They do not think that *we are at war.* It is not that this truth is obscure. Nothing could be more obvious, objectively considered. They—and we as a nation—are not willing to face the reality.

We have now reached the heart of the matter. *We are at war.* It is our willingness or unwillingness to face this central fact that determines the general pattern of foreign policy—what is technically called "Grand Strategy."

This being war, there is an enemy: in this war, the Communist world enterprise based on the Sino-Soviet empire. The enemy, like all enemies, has an objective: world rule, ultimately; destruction of the advanced nations of Western civilization, proximately, since these constitute the only serious barrier to his ultimate goal.

The main, though not always the most active, theater of the war is the marches of the two contending powers: central and eastern Europe, on both sides of the border.

Given this situation (war), this enemy with this objective, and this main theater, the highest priority in a rational counter-strategy will be assigned—as Charles Burton Marshall stated in a brilliant article published in last week's *New Republic*—to the maintenance, strengthening and advance of the Western Alliance.

For the United States there are two alternative Grand Strategies: a) the *Western Strategy,* with the primary line, North America-Western Alliance (NATO)-Atlantic Community; b) *the Afro-Asian Strategy,* with the primary line, Underdeveloped Region-Neutralist Nations-UN.

Strategy of Evasion

Up to now we have tried to integrate these two strategies as equals. (No discrimination against any nation.) But the development of the world struggle has reached a phase that compels us to choose between them: choose which is to have priority, that is, for of course both must be incorporated in a complete Grand Strategy. In 1961 the Afro-Asian Strategy got priority at nearly every node of choice. If that pattern becomes fixed, it will in the end not merely weaken but wreck the Western Alliance, and negate the Western Strategy.

In the last analysis the Afro-Asian Strategy expresses our refusal to face the fact that we are at war. No war, no enemy; thus, no one whom we must defeat. We do not have to ask ourselves who are the enemies of our enemy, and therefore our natural allies. We can postpone a settlement—can coexist—indefinitely. Meanwhile we can give priority to another task—development of the uncommitted area—which is complex enough, in all conscience, but not by an almost infinite margin as exacting and terrible as the suspended duty. And who knows? As receivers in bankruptcy for Europe's overseas empires, maybe we'll end up turning a pretty penny, besides.

Meanwhile, what will the enemy be up to? Ah, but don't you see, there is no enemy! That's just the beauty of our strategy of evasion.

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The Twisted Tree of Liberty

Among contemporary conservatives are some who refuse to use the services of the State even to assure the nation's survival. Where did they go wrong?

FRANK S. MEYER

In the spectrum of American conservatism there are and have been many different groupings, holding varying positions within the same broad outlook. Some have emphasized the menace of international Communism; others have emphasized the danger of the creeping rot at the heart of our own institutions. Some stress the corrosion of tradition, and with it of the natural law of justice, as the source of our afflictions; others, an intellectual failure to grasp the prime importance of freedom in the body politic. Nevertheless, whatever the differences in emphasis, there has been general agreement in the practical political sphere on the necessity both to resist the collectivism and statism that emanates from indigenous Liberalism and simultaneously to repel and overcome the Communist attack upon Western civilization, which—though it has its subversive detachments operating domestically—is primarily based upon the armed power of a foreign enemy.

There have been, of course, tendencies to overstress one aspect or another to such a degree that those who do so tend to move right out of the spectrum. There have been some who concentrate so wholeheartedly on the menace of domestic Communism that its international character is lost sight of and the true role of Liberalism is only cloudily understood. There have been some with such concern for the deterioration of the philosophical foundations of virtue and justice that they neglect almost totally the corollary—that in the political realm freedom is the precondition of a good society. But whatever strains these one-sided emphases have created in the growth towards a mature political and philosophical American conservative position, there has not been until lately any grouping which directly and explicitly opposes itself to the defense of freedom from either its domestic or foreign enemies.

Recently, however, there has arisen for the first time a considered position, developed out of the "pure libertarian" sector of right-wing opinion, which sharply repudiates the struggle against the major and most immediate contemporary enemy of freedom, Soviet Communism—and does so on grounds, purportedly, of a love for freedom. These "pure libertarian" pacifists applaud Khrushchev, support the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, join the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee, and toy with the tactic of a united front with Communists "against war." They project themselves as the true representatives of the Right, attacking the militantly anti-Communist position of the leadership of American conservatism as moving towards the destruction of individual liberty because it is prepared to use the power of the American state in one of its legitimate functions, to defend freedom against Communist totalitarianism.

Tempting Fleshpots

It might seem that there is no point to discussing a view of reality so patently distorted that it can consider appeasement of Communism, disarming ourselves before the Communist armed drive and alliance with those who ease the road to Communist victory, as essential to the defense of the freedom of the individual. But although those who profess these absurd opinions are small in number, they do influence a section of the right wing, particularly in the universities, and they may, if not combatted, influence more, for they offer tempting fleshpots: the opportunity at one and the same time bravely to proclaim devotion to individual freedom, championship of the free-market economy, and opposition to prevailing Liberal welfare-statism, while comfortably basking in the sunshine of the Liberal atmosphere, which is today primarily the atmosphere of appeasement and piecemeal surrender.

Shocking though they are, the practical results of this pacifist strain in the right wing are minimal; more important is the light that the development of such a monstrous misapprehension of reality casts upon the dangers inherent in the "pure libertarian" approach to the problems of freedom in society. It is a tendency which, followed unchecked, can be as harmful to the development of a mature American conservative position as the counter-tendency in the conservative penumbra—concerning which I have written previously in these pages—to look upon the state as unlimitedly instituted to enforce virtue, thus abnegating the freedom of the individual.

Of course, in any healthy growing movement there are bound to be clashes of opinion, differences of emphasis, within over-all agreement on basic principle. This is particularly to be expected in the burgeoning American conservative movement of today—and for two reasons. In the first place, the tone of the conservative mind, with its aversion to the narrowly ideological and its respect for the human person, is alien to the concept of a "party line" and so is generous to individual differences of stress on this or that aspect of a general outlook. But more specifically, the principles which inspire the contemporary American conservative movement are developing as the fusion of two different streams of thought. The one, which, for want of a better word, one may call the "traditionalist," puts its primary emphasis upon the authority of transcendent truth and the necessity of a political and social order in accord with the constitution of being. The

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other, which, again for want of a better word, one may call the "libertarian," takes as its first principle in political affairs the freedom of the individual person and emphasizes the restriction of the power of the state and the maintenance of the free-market economy as guarantee of that freedom.

The Meaning of Virtue

Before the challenge of modern collectivism, hostile alike to transcendent truth and to individual freedom, traditionalist and libertarian have found common cause and tend more and more to work together on the practical political level. But further, the common source in the *ethos* of Western civilization from which flow both the traditionalist and the libertarian currents, has made possible a continuing discussion which is creating the fusion that is contemporary American conservatism. That fused position recognizes at one and the same time the transcendent goal of human existence and the primacy of the freedom of the person in the political order. Indeed, it maintains that the only possible ultimate vindication of the freedom of the individual person rests upon a belief in his overriding value as a person, a value based upon transcendent considerations. And it maintains that the duty of men is to seek virtue; but it insists that men cannot in actuality do so unless they are free from the constraint of the physical coercion of an unlimited state. For the simulacrum of virtuous acts brought about by the coercion of superior power, is not virtue, the meaning of which resides in the free choice of good over evil.

Therefore, the conservative—who understands also that power in this world will always exist and cannot be wished out of existence—stands for division of power, in order that those who hold it may balance each other and the concentration of overweening power be foreclosed. He stands for the limitation of the power of the state, division of power within the state, a free economy, and prescriptive protection of the rights of individual persons and groups of individual persons against the state. But he does not see the state as an absolute evil; he regards it as a necessary institution, so long as it is restricted to its natural functions: the preservation of domestic peace and order, the administration of justice, and defense against foreign enemies.

In the political sphere the conservative consensus presently emerging in the United States regards freedom as an end; but, although it is an end at the political level, it is a means—as is the whole political structure—to the higher ends of the human person. Without reference to those ends, it is meaningless. While that conservative consensus regards the untrammeled state as the greatest of political evils, it does not regard the state itself as evil so long as it is limited to its proper functions, so long as the force it wields is effectively limited by a constitutional understanding of the bounds beyond which that force may not intrude upon the sacred sphere of the individual person, and so long as that understanding is enforced by division and balance of powers.

The American conservative today, therefore, although he owes much to the libertarian stream in Western thought—its deep concern with freedom, its analysis of the political structure in terms of freedom, its understanding of the vital importance of the free-market economy for a free modern society—cannot accept the fundamental philosophical position, sometimes rationalist, sometimes utilitarian, which is the historical foundation of pure libertarianism. He cannot posit freedom as an absolute end nor can he, considering the condition of man, deny the role of the state as an institution necessary to protect the freedoms of individual persons from molestation, whether through domestic or foreign force. He is not, in a word, a utopian. He knows that power exists in the world and that it must be controlled, not ignored with wishful utopian thinking.

The contemporary American conservative not only rejects the authoritarian extremes of nineteenth-century conservatism and the extremes of nineteenth-centry rationalist and utilitarian liberalism, but, in a sense, he goes behind the so often sterile nineteenth-century conservative-liberal controversy, to found his outlook upon that earlier synthesis of belief in transcendent value and in human freedom which the Founders of the Republic embodied in their lives and actions, discursively expressed in their writings and their debates, and bequeathed to us in the body politic they constituted.

Their political concern was the establishment of freedom and its preservation, but they understood that freedom is meaningless unless founded upon "the laws of Nature and of Nature's God." The protection of the free energies of free individuals, so that they might in liberty strive to live according to those laws, was their most intimate concern. But they knew that in the defense of liberty a properly constituted state is necessary, not only to "establish Justice[and] insure domestic Tranquillity" but also to "provide for the common Defense." They did not content themselves with abstract analyses of liberty; they proclaimed in unambiguous tones, "Give me liberty or give me death." To that wager of fate, "with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence," they pledged "our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor."

"Providence," "honor," "valor," are concepts that the dry utilitarianism of the "pure libertarian" cannot compass. The pity is that when the soul cannot respond to those words, all the brave intellectual structure turns to cobwebs; and the champion of a freedom unfounded on the deep nature of man and the constitution of being pipes out: "Give me liberty if it doesn't mean risking war; give me liberty, but not at the risk of nuclear death."

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

School Readers

At Lakewood School, Twin Lakes, Wisconsin, during the past three months, the school board has got itself into the bad graces of the official educationists: for the school board believes that school readers ought to offer something for the mind. Finding that the extant rhetoric textbooks for the elementary grades (not that textbook publishers nowadays would employ so reactionary a word as "rhetoric"!) consist principally of the interminable inane doings of Dick, Jane and Spot, they looked about for some substitute that would regard children as fairly rational beings. And, for lack of anything more recent, they decided to use the McGuffey Readers, which still are in print (Ginn and Company), and are quite sensible and usable.

Kirk

Now the McGuffey Readers are not perfect, and there is no reason why competent anthologists cannot get up a decent modern reader for young pupils—except that the educationist hierarchy and most textbook editors, apparently, are anti-intellectual. But the school board had only the alternative of Dick & Jane, Look-See, or of McGuffey. So they chose McGuffey.

Howls of rage then arose from the outraged throats of the state educationist hierarchy in Wisconsin. Why, what scoundrels the school-board members must be to induce children to read anything written in the nineteenth century! All wisdom began with John Dewey, you know—and all style, among educationists, ended with him. The state superintendent of public instruction threatened to cut off state subsidies to Lakewood School, unless the offending board-members recanted; but, alas and lackaday, it was the state superintendent himself who was forced to recant, when it was discovered he had no constitutional authority to deprive a school of funds on such grounds.

On one matter, nevertheless, the state educationists stood firm: anything religious or moral in the McGuffey Readers must be stricken out. You really *can't* allow ethical principles to take root in young heads, you know. The authorities discovered that the Readers actually contained quotations from the Sermon on the Mount, that notorious bigoted pre-Dewey manifesto! The Sermon on the Mount, they informed the school board, will have to go; or we'll lay down a barrage with our heavy educationist artillery. Somewhat intimidated, the school board agreed to snip out or cover with strips of brown paper the offending quotations from that old discriminationist, Jesus Christ. Then a member of Congress, himself a minister, suggested that if we can't mention the Sermon on the Mount in public schools, can we mention anything worthwhile? And the school board regretted having given way in this to the asses of the state department of public instruction.

I do hope that the Lakewood school board will give way in nothing else, and that the legislature and people of Wisconsin will take steps to reform their department of public instruction, which is so opposed to literacy and morality. For a gigantic improvement of school anthologies and textbooks in literature is most urgently needed throughout America. Professor Arther Trace, in his recent *What Ivan Knows that Johnny Doesn't,* shows how abysmally inferior we are to the Soviet Russians in this matter. Possibly little Twin Lakes may be the spearhead of a national public uprising against literary inanity.

In both elementary and secondary schools, certainly, the anthologies are dreadfully dull and disorganized. I have reviewed several high-school textbooks of this sort, and have found not one really commendable. The average school reader—nay, nearly every such schoolbook—is without system or coherence, a mere grab-bag of brief selections, intended to hold for a moment the reluctant attention of a crowd of restless boys and girls innocent of intellectual or social discipline. Great literature is subordinated to "awareness" and easy readability. The genuine education of the sincere schoolboy is subordinated to the superficial tastes of the duller pupil.

I do not mean that a tenth-grade rhetoric textbook, for instance, ought to hold the essence of the wisdom of all the ages. But I do maintain that it ought to be something more demanding, and more elevated in style, than third- and fourth-grade readers were when I was an elementary student, thirty years ago. After all, everyone went to school in the 'twenties and 'thirties, just as everyone goes to school now. But the readers which we used in those dim days beyond recall, for boys and girls eight and nine and ten years old, were at least equal in content and style to the average literature-book nowadays for flirtatious young people of fourteen and fifteen and sixteen. Some of the third-grade readers of a generation gone were positively more toplofty than the average tenth-grade reader of 1962. Such is the measure of our progress under the leadership of the Deweyites. This is the sort of progress which makes even radical writers like Professor C. Wright Mills speak of "the intellectually impoverished background of the American high school."

The better school-readers of the nineteenth century and, to some extent, of the earlier decades of our century were packed with selections from Chaucer, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Browne, Johnson, Burke, Addison, Macaulay, Hawthorne, Holmes. From such men of letters, young people learned to write, and speak, and *think* coherently. Also they acquired some degree of humane discipline; that is, they learned something of what it is to be a truly human person, studying high thoughts and noble lives. What once was, may be again.

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Escape from Reality

DONALD W. TREADGOLD

"It is truly amazing," writes Erich Fromm in *May Man Prevail*, "how [Herman] Kahn . . . makes the most questionable statement in the field of psychology . . . without reference to any scientific data." Eleven pages later he asserts that "to live for any length of time under the constant threat of destruction" creates psychological states that "will transform us into barbarians" indifferent to all cherished values. Remembering the behavior of most Englishmen in 1940-43 or the conduct of disciplined troops in many wartime situations, some will find this a highly questionable statement, and indeed the author cites no scientific data at all to support it, but since this is one of the few times in the book he uses psychology to analyze his subject (though he often uses it to explain away the conclusions of others that he finds unpalatable), we may pass on to that subject which is foreign policy.

Mr. Fromm's aim is to challenge the premises on which American foreign policy is based. Chief among these is said to be the view that "Communism, represented by the Soviet Union and China, is a revolutionary-imperialist movement out to conquer the world by force or subversion." The Soviet Union, retorts the author, is now a "politically conservative industrial managerialism" and "is against revolutions." In contrast, China has a system of "anti-individualistic Communism," and since "some of the Russian actions have more the purpose of containing the Chinese, than of conquering new territories," even on Mr. Fromm's view China must desire some kind of expansion; but it is nothing to get excited about, since we can grasp the reason for the Southeast Asian crisis by understanding that "Laos is vital to China's security" (quoted by the author from Robert S. Elegant).

May Man Prevail? An Inquiry into the Facts and Fictions of Foreign Policy, by Erich Fromm. Doubleday, $4.50

However, Mr. Fromm seems not to realize how poorly his whole discussion of China fits the rest of his argument. To be sure, he faces up to some of the awkward test cases manfully. In the Congo, although "the Chinese were quite active," there was "no evidence that Russia was more aggressive than to send fifteen commercial airplanes there," and in Cuba "Castro, not Khrushchev, started the revolution" (did anyone at all ever believe otherwise?), but Khrushchev had to "give some support . . . because of his position as leader in the Communist camp." Anyway, Cuba is just in the "neutral" camp. Besides, "Khrushchev's main aim is the ending of the cold war with the United States, and he knows that this would be impossible if he built a political, not to say military, base against the United States." (One wonders if Castro's December 2 statement will be enough to make Mr. Fromm acknowledge error.)

These citations should be enough to provide a general idea of the author's argument, if the reader has not gathered it from Fromm's recent articles. He has resolutely set himself the task of discussing the world crisis as if the international Communist movement—which includes some eighty parties, those in power controlling a third of the globe, and is not just a matter of a few Russian airplanes in the Congo or Chinese security in Laos—did not exist. When a person refuses to face reality, the psychologist is apt to be ready with a label describing the malady; but that is Mr. Fromm's field, not mine.

The field he has invaded, that of foreign policy, is one in which the writings of laymen may be useful, as in the field of psychology. If Mr. Fromm aspires to become the Dale Carnegie of foreign policy, he has every right to do so. However, we are entitled to ask that books on foreign policy, whoever writes them, furnish us with "scientific data"—as Fromm aptly puts it—verified as carefully as possible from the sources, as a basis for the opinions and conclusions on which the best informed men may reasonably differ.

The author, however, seems less interested in facts than in conclusions, and most of his footnotes are to other people's conclusions (sometimes in order to attack them), not to sources that establish facts. He refers to some well-known authorities on the Soviet Union and Communist China, some non-Marxist, some Marxist (and for all I know quite willing for America to disarm unilaterally), but to none who believe that Khrushchev is a conservative or that Communism has blown away.

He has an unwavering determination to demolish "clichés"—such as that "Communism is the epitome of evil" (projection . . . mixed with paranoid thinking); that "the Soviet system is a socialist system"; that Americans are "God-fearing" in the sense of being "*concerned* with God" (we "do not worry or lose sleep over religious or spiritual problems"); that "Cuba is practically a Russian satellite"; and so forth. If the evidence that he offers, however, is the best that can be found to urge against these clichés, then it seems quite safe to go on repeating them in the blind and automatic manner he attributes to his ideological opponents.

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Mr. Fromm's conclusions originate less in the facts than in his view of the world scene as mainly a product of economic forces. Thus our real motives are "greater material comfort" and so on, while our "ideology" of economic individualism is "administered" by our "government-business-armed services" bureaucracy which controls the means of production; what largely explains Moscow-Peiping tensions is that "China today is a poor society . . . [while] Russia is becoming a rich society"; Hitler and the Nazis were not really responsible for World War II, but were merely creatures of the German "*industrialists and militarists*," so that hanging the Nazi leaders was like "exorcising the devil," and "our present appeasement of Adenauer's Germany" forgets that the country is still controlled by the same forces; "the more the Soviet Union can satisfy the material needs of the population, the less will she need the methods of the police state"; the Soviet Union and the United States share fundamental features, to be found in the organization of production.

It is on the basis of the last proposition that Mr. Fromm advances his prescription for securing peace. It is universal controlled disarmament coupled with an American-Russian agreement for "the mutual recognition of the status quo . . . not to change the existing political balance of power between the two blocs." He admits and even emphasizes that the possibilities of disarmament and "political understanding" depend on each other. If he were right in thinking Khrushchev the spokesman of a "conservative industrial managerialism," the solution he advocates should be taken seriously. Since he is wrong, the solution need detain no one. Mr. Khrushchev is a Communist, and desires to change the status quo and the balance of power. (It is, of course, possible that he is only pretending to be a Communist by acting like one, as the poems of Homer may not have been written by Homer, but by another poet of the same name.) Some clichés, Mr. Fromm, are correct; the way to tell a right one from a wrong one is to look at the evidence.

This is not to say that this book contains nothing of value. Fromm gives a good account of Marxian materialism; he correctly analyzes Czarist imperialism as comparable to other imperialisms of the day in not seeking world domination but only limited objectives; he convincingly points out the reason that same theory will not answer the most important questions about war and peace. Mixed up with the distortions and idiosyncrasies are even calls for moral regeneration, though the only thing that will really help is "changes within our own society." May man prevail? He may. But it is a foggy formulation of the problem of our time, a formulation appropriate only to a book as foggy as this one.

Fiction

Variations on a Palling Theme

ROBERT O. BOWEN

LATELY, Establishment fiction has become so vicious on its surface that critics have found it impossible to analyze the product in public. Instead, they have fallen to blathering about its sublimities or the right of the artist to perform nasty deeds in public vicariously. All that is evasion and nonsense. A book is written in words, and a critic must deal with those words. So: John O'Hara's prose in *Assembly* is garnished throughout with four-letter words and Hortense Calisher rises from them only to more refined phrases equally scatological.

Assembly: A Collection of 26 New Stories, by John O'Hara. Random House, $5.95

The Old Men at the Zoo, by Angus Wilson. Viking, $4.50

False Entry, by Hortense Calisher. Little, Brown, $5.75

The grave social and cultural problems of mid-century America are sadly lacking in the novels here reviewed. Since maturity resolves sex into one habit or another, little is left in O'Hara's *Assembly* for grown-up interest. His stories are cleverly posed slice-of-life theatrical gauze for the *New Yorker* market: homosexuals and sadists and other diseased people preying upon each other, always alert to tear someone down and never apparently conscious that anyone might share a constructive experience. His people, like John Cheever's and Norman Mailer's and, earlier, Maxwell Bodenheim's and Carl Van Vechten's, are without values beyond creature comfort, and if they do occasionally conceive a positive value, it is cast in nostalgia in order to deny it current validity.

O'Hara's method is warmed-over Ring Lardner in a pair of "Haircut" stories. The remainder are poor attempts at Somerset Maugham, that old master of the comedy of manners. Now, the comedy of manners is based on a system of virtues without which the irony necessary to the comedy is impossible. No doubt O'Hara sensed some lack of kick in his narratives, and he tried to overcome this by falling back on Greyhound Bus station lavatory diction.

From across the water in London, Angus Wilson's novel, *The Old Men at the Zoo*, hits a higher dramatic

level than O'Hara by advancing past its four-letter words to a relatively new action in current fiction. *The Old Men at the Zoo* is a story of England in a 1970's war as seen by an executive of the London Zoo. The Zoo provides irony since the fall of England results from the preoccupation with trivia of the British Civil Service class. Despite philosophical and prophetic sallies, any novel, as this one, that incessantly turns to the stroking of a thigh or the unbutton-

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ing of a fly has little space for profundity.

Hortense Calisher's *False Entry* follows current fashions with the usual distractingly crotchy remarks. Proust buffs will be happy with Calisher since her elaborate stylistic rhythms and her recondite vocabulary are his, and often they are good in an effete fashion. *False Entry's* rich but narrow vision into the American experience makes it the most interesting Establishment novel out this year. It spans the life of a young man whose widowed mother migrates to Alabama from London. The book is compiled of flashbacks and asides and journals, but this gimmickry does add scope. Unraveled, the action turns on two incidents: a boy's spying on adults in a Southern town and years later witnessing before a federal grand jury against those adults as Klansmen and murderers. Beneath the surface action, which the novel slights, the hero seeks his origins in terms of family or nation or culture.

Unfortunately, the conclusion is more private to one man than archetypal to Americans at large. None the less, mid-century America does appear to some extent: the Jewish family in the diaspora; the British immigrants who work and die in Alabama but remain more foreign than even the Negroes; the lost young men who fall in and out of a university or a regiment without past or future, almost without present; the crossing of class lines and the breaking of standards. Even the faggoty verbiage is a part of America, though a decadent and minor part.

Calisher's *False Entry,* O'Hara's *Assembly,* and Wilson's *The Old Men at the Zoo*—these books are not for the square, the Christian, the family man, for anyone whose honor goes beyond rank, and whose love sees past Freud—or that lavatory wall.

A Hobble for Pegasus

RICHARD M. WEAVER

What was to be expected sooner or later has now arrived, an admonition from the social sciences to the humanities to reform their ways. Robert E. Lane's *The Liberties of Wit: Humanism, Criticism, and the Civic Mind* punctuates with a shot

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The Liberties of Wit: Humanism, Criticism, and the Civic Mind, by Robert E. Lane. Yale, $3.75

---

the cold phase of a war long present between the two disciplines.

One may doubt, however, that it will be enough to touch off a hot conflict of major proportions. The work is so deferential, so disarming in its modesty, and so willing to concede that the humanities after all *do* have something to teach that even the confirmed humanist may find himself nodding in assent here and there. Nevertheless, there could result a tightening of the lines as it becomes clear, under Mr. Lane's analysis, what course events will take if his proposed settlement is adopted.

Basically, he indicts the performance of the humanists measured against the obligations of democratic citizenship. The democratic citizen is to be the final end of education, and the concept of the democratic citizen is the idea that polarizes everything into place. What do we want of our citizens? he asks. "We want them to have democratic values and the personality to sustain these effectively." Important among the qualities of the citizen would be mental clarity. Mr. Lane is exhaustive in his inventory of what this means: it includes an understanding of the philosophical foundations underlying any inquiry; a capacity to analyze theoretical propositions; a knowledge of the relation between language and the real world (not as yet satisfactorily worked out by anybody as far as I am aware); a capacity to differentiate between fantasy and directed thinking—and a number of other things. With this as his major premise he is prepared for his assault upon the methods of teaching the humanities.

Much of this teaching, Mr. Lane argues, receives its misdirection from "original error," and I attach no little significance to the fact that he has here invented a parallel to a theological dogma to explain the curse that is on literary interpretation. This original error, he maintains, traces back to a deposit of Aristotelian metaphysics in the critics' and teachers' minds. From this proceeds a false idealism, breeding notions of absolutism, universality, and the intrinsic. All of these lead away from probative empirical research because they depend upon definitions and classifications in the mind, with boundaries which resist any adjustment suggested by sensory experience. And "since one of the mental properties of the citizen that is most useful is a tendency to look for empirical evidence obtained in certain well established ways, this subjectivity may impede the exercise of a person's citizenly functions."

Like the ill-prepared citizen, the ill-trained literary student looks for "intentions" in the work first of all, and at actual results later or not at all; his process is a form of "sentence first, verdict second," following from the metaphysical principle that if certain things are present, other things must follow. Such conclusions from original error, he decides, can be prevented by the instrumentalist epistemology which he espouses throughout. The saying that to think like Aristotle is to think like a human being would not impress him; he is far closer to saying that to think like John Dewey is to think like the ideal citizen. Thus the humanities are not sufficiently conscious of the tendency of the theories they use in analyzing and evaluating literature. Such lack of clarity about method, the argument continues, can have dangerous carry-over, for the difference in the methods appropriate to thinking about *The Brothers Karamazov* and about the Politburo are often exaggerated, and moreover "the influence of teachers transcends their subject matter."

The nub of the criticism is that one can borrow from research a set of habits for knowing which will "legitimize" the wrong sort of conclusions. As he puts it in a summary passage: "The subjectivist, self-referential and occasionally autistic quality encouraged in literary criticism forms a Way of Knowing. There are times when this epistemology, too well learned, may stand in the way of an orderly and flexible society." We mark here the reappearance of his

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polar concept of a flexible society, or one whose goals are empirically discovered as life moves along.

Against these sallies the humanist has ample ground for retort. I would stress first that Mr. Lane's proposal is actually more parochial than that which he would have it supplant. For, acting out of that peculiar modern hubris which is likely to show itself whenever the term democracy is brought in, he would make the whole of life and art attendant upon a political device. If a judgment of a work of literature tends to interfere with the flexible processes of a democratic society, then something has slipped back there in the mechanics of judgment, and the methodology has to be overhauled.

Various art styles at different times have followed ideals that seem to us curious, but none an ideal quite so irrelevant as this one. Mr. Lane will be proved parochial just because his overture has in contemplation a curbing of the liberties of wit, which has been known to flourish under almost every kind of government, and which would go on ignoring his invitation to get into line. (Since critic and artist are sometimes the same person, I fail to see how the latter can be excluded from his prescriptions.) What, one may ask before leaving the point, would be our attitude toward Elizabethan literature under his proposed regime? Well, one might conceive his replying, we have now developed a political maturity which would preclude a literature based on that kind of class structure and aristocratic outlook. We can still study it, but our properly phrased questions will elicit answers that will not stand as obstacles to the democratic way of life. But this is the aforementioned hubris, the assumption that the nature of man has been defined for us by the democratic process. It is well to show a decent respect for the political form which is proving most useful in our time; it is quite another thing to handicap the artistic intuition of realities with prior political commitments.

Pegasus is too noble a steed to be hobbled in this fashion; Mr. Lane's wish that wit, in its older sense of the creative imagination, might be brought under the same discipline as the sciences is but a new offshoot of the scientistic fallacy. We can afford to leave the critics to their congeries of systems and approaches, confident that democracy will not be too badly damaged, and knowing that one good insight is worth any number of pointless deductions from an approved schematism.

Theater

Take One Robert Morse . . .

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

How to succeed on Broadway today is quite simple: sign up Robert Alan Morse as your leading man. A sort of non-repulsive Mickey Rooney, Morse is pint-sized, so boyish he's still convincing skeptical bartenders nine years later that he is, too, over 21—and the possessor of a comic flair that should make Danny Kaye, among others, sit up and take notice. He plays the sly, slithery, perfidious, double-crossing, ambitious, conceited, back-biting, fawning J. Pierpont Finch (you spell it F-I-N-C-H, he insists), hero of *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying*. And he plays it so engagingly that the audience's only hope is that Wickedness will Prevail, musical comedy rules notwithstanding, and J. Pierpont Finch scale the crest of his particular Mt. Everest, in this case the World Wide Wickets Company.

The play, an amiable spoof on big business by Abe Burrows (book) and Frank Loesser (music and lyrics)—the *Guys and Dolls* twosome—is the surprise hit of the 1961 fall season despite the fact that there isn't a singable tune in the lot—the kind an audience leaves the theater humming—or a dirty line. (A secretary's "pad is to write in not to spend the night in" is about as racy as the show gets.) Moreover, choreographer Hugh Lambert turned his back on those frenetic, galvanic dances—a Broadway ritual these days—which leave the audience in doubt whether they're watching a chorus line or an Olympic

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pentathlon workout. His dancers, the young executives and secretaries of World Wide Wickets, provide a backdrop to the play without disrupting it, or breaking into a fragile plot line. Finally, the staging is good—one penthouse set overlooking the city verging on the spectacular—but with none of the razzle-dazzle mechanical wizardry which is so often substituted for content.

It's not risqué. The songs aren't good. The dancing's far from spectacular. The sets are so-so. So what makes *How to Succeed* the rage? The book—some of the cleverest lyrics to hit Broadway since *My Fair Lady* (or more exactly, *Pygmalion*)—and three topnotch acting performances: by Morse; by Rudy Vallee as J. B. Biggley, president of World Wide Wickets, a pince-nezed, pompous son of Old Ivy, whose fusty eccentricities, such as knitting (his golf covers are self-knit—popcorn stitch), J. Pierpont Finch emulates; and finally by Charles Nelson Reilly as Frump, Finch's great rival in the firm and Mr. Biggley's nephew. ("My nephew," says Biggley at a Board Meeting, "has youth, high spirits and extreme stupidity.") And Frump has you believing it. It is with malevolent glee that he sets up the traps into which Finch occasionally falls only to bounce back with the elasticity of a small boy off a trampoline. Reilly's good, so good he comes close to stealing a scene or two from Robert Morse which, given the league, makes him a theatrical grand larcenist.

While the music is far from great, song and lyrics combine to tickle the funny bone. Such as in the lament, almost dirge, for the lost coffee break. ("If I can't take my coffee break/ Something within me dies"—"If I can't make three daily trips/ Where shiny shrine benignly drips/ And taste cardboard between my lips/ Something within me dies.") There's the prescription for keeping one's job at World Wide Wickets by doing it the safe, or "Company Way" ("Year after year, after fiscal, never take a riscal, year") which Mr. Twimble, of the mailroom, outlines to a Finch who has just taken his first step up.

These build to a comic crescendo in the Executive Washroom. The boys have gathered in the Executive Washroom. Finch has gotten too big for his britches and the squabbling junior executives are determined to unite, this once, against him. They arrive, suitably introduced by a rhythmic "hush, the-villain-approacheth" theme of melodrama ancestry, to sing, conspiratorially, a ditty whose refrain is: "Gotta stop that man, Gotta stop that man, before he stops me." Enter our hero. He approaches the mirror, gazes at himself and is Narcissus-struck. And so against the backdrop of "Gotta Stop that Man" he sings a song to himself: a song of approbation and pride, interspersed with snippets of delighted laughter at the wonderfulness of J. Pierpont Finch. "Now there you are [*delighted smile*], Yes there's that face [*cock it slightly, get a gander of that strong, masculine profile*], that face that somehow I trust [*approving nod*]. It may embarrass you to have me say it, but say it I must. [*The words gush out, he can't hold them back.*] You have the cool, clear eyes of a seeker of wisdom and truth [*quizzical look and slow—that's so—*

Random Notes

● MOVIES: *La Dolce Vita* was picketed not long ago in, of all places, Juarez. . . . Replacing Daniel Taradash on the script for James Michener's *Hawaii*, to roll the spring of '63: Dalton Trumbo, whose Great Human Epics for '61 included *Exodus* and *Spartacus*.

● TELEVISION: Twentieth-Century-Fox Television announced plans, a while back, for a half-hour weekly series based on *The Odyssey* and *The Iliad*. Said a spokesman for Fox, which currently supplies *Follow the Sun, Adventures in Paradise, Bus Stop* and *Dobie Gillis*: "We feel it will fill a void in the present television schedule."

● THEATER: Camelot now coasts along deep in the black, having recovered, in its 45th week, its $673,000 production cost. . . . From *Variety*, this note on the Theatrical Life, Rochester, N.Y., Division: "Miles Cunningham, writing in the Rochester *Times-Union*, reported that Tennessee Williams, in a 'stormy interview' before the local opening of his pre-Broadway play, *The Night of the Iguana*, finally broke off the confab with the statement, 'I can't talk to a person like you.' The playwright, apparently nervous before the break-in of his new play, reportedly resented several of the interviewer's slanted questions. He had a large pet wolf in his hotel room, according to Cunningham."

● PRESS: Disturbed by Civil War Centennial Observances which give "little idea what the shooting was about," the *New York Post* observed the occasion in its own way by serializing a book with "validity and passion . . . profound insights into the racial problem . . . continuous excitement as well as meaning." The book: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

● INCIDENTAL (Footnotes to History Dept.): Rhapsodized John W. Vandercook in the February 1941 issue of *Vogue*: "Hawaii is our Gilbraltar, and almost our Channel coast . . . with Hawaii on guard, a surprise attack on us from Asia, the experts believe, would be quite impossible. So long as the great Pearl Harbor Naval Base, just down the road from Honolulu, is ours, American warships and submarines can run their un-Pacific errands with a maximum of ease. Pearl Harbor is one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, maritime fortresses in the world. . . . It is the one sure sanctuary in the whole of the vast Pacific for both ships and men."

● BOOKS: Among the crop of gift books, there is *Wall Street: A Pictorial History* (Ziff-Davis, $17.50) by Leonard Louis Levinson, who collected a really memorable group of old photographs and then more or less threw them away with a rather simple-minded text and bad reproductions. . . . John Bainbridge's *The Super-Americans* (Doubleday, $5.95) is mostly made up of his recent *New Yorker* profiles about Texas and Texans, and is a book full of style and small fascinations (*e.g.*, an excerpt from a Texas scholar's doctoral dissertation on the folklore of Neiman-Marcus) that more than compensate for Bainbridge's incorrigibly non-Texan turn of mind.

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nod], yet there's that upturned chin and that grin of impetuous youth [*and the face crumples into almost moronic ecstacy, then melds into semi-devotional fervor*]. Oh, I believe in you, I believe in you." Every word, every gesture, every motion of an incredibly elastic body combine to enhance the effect.

After watching Robert Morse in action for better than two hours, after seeing him rise unscathed from one gray-flannelled pratfall after another, you're apt to agree that J.B. Biggley has done the right thing when he tells his secretary at the very end to take a telegram to the White House, the message: "WATCH OUT."

BOOKS IN BRIEF

MAJESTY & MISCHIEF: *A Mixed Tribute to FDR*, by William S. White (McGraw-Hill, $4.50). Assuming that history as we know it survives the unfolding, the consequences of FDR's reign should one day be known and fairly set down. But some are impatient for the summing-up, despite the great unfinished business symbolized by Berlin. William S. White's premature stab is delivered with characteristically even-handed style. In one convoluted sentence after another, FDR is, on the one hand, perhaps the greatest of Presidents and, on the other, perhaps the greatest of miscreants. But White, while avoiding the genuflections of knee-jerk Liberalism, doesn't quite make it down his chosen middle-road. Like a whole generation of Americans, he cannot contemplate Roosevelt without reliving the trauma of the thirties. As much as the outcome of history, the definitive appraisal of FDR must await a chronicler who does not suppose that, because he and his countrymen came through, the New Deal therefore "saved" America and earned its architect eternal gratitude. R. WHALEN

THE WINTER OF OUR DISCONTENT, by John Steinbeck (Viking, $4.50). *He: "You're a witch! Why don't you whistle up a wind?" She: "I can't whistle. I can raise a puny little storm in most men with my eyebrows. How do I go about lighting your fire?" He: "Maybe you have."* Although it is difficult to believe that whoever wrote that dialogue had much more on his mind than something along the lines of *Flying Down to Rio*, believe it we must. Plucked more or less at random from *The Winter of Our Discontent*, that particular colloquy is the handiwork of Mr. John Steinbeck; and Mr. Steinbeck is quite in earnest, deeply troubled by what the jacket calls "our shoddy attitudes toward honesty and success" (antithetical, as any fool knows), by "the loss of integrity in our world." For both Mr. Steinbeck and his protagonist, a grocery clerk who temporarily wanders down where the money and the primroses grow, the idea of "integrity" is pretty much encompassed in that of not cheating on television quiz programs. It all takes several hundred pages, but in the end, Mr. Steinbeck is *against cheating*. He is for honesty. He is for some other things, too—families, for example, and friendship—but his ideas about *honesty* and *integrity* are far and away the most provocative of all his moral perceptions. Perhaps the most interesting thing about *The Winter of Our Discontent* is that Dr. Carlos Baker, writing in the *New York Times Book Review*, found it a novel loaded with "disturbing" implications. *Nada te turbe*, Carlos. J. DIDION

COURAGE TO CHANGE, by June Bingham (Scribner's, $7.50). Reinhold Niebuhr, Henry Luce's answer to Thomas Aquinas, gets painted much larger than life in 400 wide-eyed pages that achieve the kind of ineffable vulgarity of a feature on Abelard by a staffer at *McCall's*. Mrs. Bingham credits Niebuhr with reviving the "piquant" idea of Original Sin, at one point compares him favorably with Augustine; and discovers that "his ideas about society are quite unique." We meet Niebuhr the reglar guy, the cleric-who-cusses-even-as-you-and-I; Niebuhr the Socialist candidate, put over in the primaries by "the boys at Union

(Continued on p. 38)

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To the Editor

Excellent Choice

You may be interested to learn that Theodore Sturgeon has agreed to be the Guest of Honor at our 20th World Science Fiction Convention next year. Naturally, we think that you made an excellent choice for a reviewer of science fiction books. It is a welcome break from the custom, which seems to be followed by most publications outside the s-f field, of turning s-f books over to reviewers who are densely ignorant of the field.

Chicago, Ill. GEORGE W. PRICE
Treasurer, 20th World
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The Harvest of Disillusion

First let me thank you for your excellent article on Communism in Mexico ["No Communism in Mexico," by Philip Burnham, Nov. 18]. Please keep on paying attention to your neighbors down here.

I am the organizer of the "Comité Mexicano para la Divulgación de los Objetivos, Estrategía y Tácticas del Comunismo" mentioned in your article.

Mr. Kennedy has just returned to the States, having made in Bogotá statements to the effect that the wealthy, the landowners, private enterprise, must realize their *past mistakes,* renounce their old attitudes and introduce sweeping changes in their tax structures, in order to correct the "injustices" and enormous differences between rich and poor. He has said that unless the rich do something (make everybody less poor by sharing their wealth) Communism will take over. Now we know perfectly well that "the rich" are helpless to make others less poor, even if they gave everything they have. "The rich" are not able to solve the economic problems of Latin America. Thus it is quite clear that *no* general increase in the standard of living will come about through Mr. Kennedy's socialistic program. The so-called "injustices" will undoubtedly get worse, and who will reap the harvest of disillusion? The Communists.

Mr. Kennedy believes that a better standard of living is what can stop Communism. He is wrong. Communism may be about to take over in the Dominican Republic. The standard of living is not the issue there.

Mr. Kennedy proposes socialistic tax reforms as a means to prosperity. He is tragically mistaken. At the moment our Congress is studying tax reforms (foisted on us by your Mr. Kennedy) which will plunge our country into a terrible economic crisis. Things have been bad all year, but these tax reforms are going to have a terrible repercussion. Capital is now leaving Mexico, and will continue to leave Mexico as fast as your American taxpayers can pump it in through the foreign-aid program of Punta del Este, Uruguay.

All this leads up to one question in my mind. Just what is the U.S. going to do when she gets a Communist neighbor on her southern border, when Latin America goes Communist?

Mexico, D. F. HUGO SALINAS P.

Niebuhr and the Conservative

I know that Will Herberg, whose work I have always admired, intends in his article "Reinhold Niebuhr: Burkean Conservative" [Dec. 2] to recommend Niebuhr to Burkeans, and that his strategy is therefore to some degree deliberately provocative. Herberg's general purpose, of course, is a reasonable one. Niebuhr has been a valuable writer in a variety of ways. Nevertheless, some essential differences between Burke and Niebuhr should not have been overlooked, for they are important to those who care seriously for either man.

To be sure, one may agree that both Niebuhr and Burke are aware of power and of the complexity of social relations, and that they both are suspicious of mass emotions and skeptical about utopian schemes. Yet this sort of general agreement is surely insufficient grounds for attaching to Niebuhr the adjective "Burkean." Is Mr. Herberg's definition of Burkean so broad that it includes everyone who has his wits about him?

The fact is that Burke and Niebuhr differ on a number of very important

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matters. Making no attempt at completeness, I list a few.

1. *Natural Law.* As he shows clearly enough in his essay "Love and Law in Protestantism and Catholicism," Niebuhr has always been skeptical about the existence of a Natural Law. Concerning "principles of justice which transcend the positive enactments of historic states" he points out that these principles are *generated* in the customs and mores of communities; and they may rise to universal norms which *seem* to have their source not in particular communities but in the common experience of mankind [italics mine]." He argues, furthermore, that "law, however conceived, whether drawn from Scripture (as in Reformation thought) or from rational intuitions (as in Catholicism) or from historical tradition, is *less fixed and absolute than all these theories assume* [italics mine]." That baffling "less . . . absolute" is explained by the last sentence of this essay: "the law of love . . . is the only final law, and every other law is an expression of the law of love in minimal or in proximate terms or in terms appropriate to given historical occasions." To sum up: For Niebuhr all laws except the Biblical injunction to love are entirely historical, *generated* by communities, and only *seem* to have their source elsewhere. But for Burke the moral law is *discovered* in history; men "attain to the moral reason in their collective experience, they realize and embody it in their stable social relations and organization [Parkin, *The Moral Basis of Burke's Political Thought*]." For Burke, that is to say, moral law is eternal and universal, though it acquires concrete existence, and so may be apprehended, in particular social arrangements. Historic institutions are to varying degrees incarnations of the moral law. I submit that the conflict between Niebuhr's position and Burke's on this matter would logically tend to produce, and in fact does produce, differences in their attitude toward actual social institutions.

2. *The Role of the Beautiful.* Nowhere in Niebuhr's work is there any indication of aesthetic passion: he does not love a place, an institution, or a person for its beauty. He is moral, religious, and utilitarian, but never aesthetic. Burke, in contrast, began his career as an aesthetician, wrote a great book on aesthetics, and

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his sensibility was important to his politics. Beauty, for Burke, is one of the great things in human life. On Marie Antoinette: "surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in—glittering like the morning-star, full of life, and splendour, and joy." Niebuhr, for better or worse, seems to lack this sort of feeling entirely. Could he ever say, as Burke does, that "vice lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness."? Does he care about "the unbought grace of life."? Burke—it is one of his great strengths—refused to sacrifice the higher values to a passion for justice, even though, as in the Hastings trial, he was no stranger to that passion.

3. *Localism.* Where in the work of Niebuhr does one find what is so central to Burke, a deeply felt attachment to the particular locality?—"To be attached to the subdivision, to love the little platoon we belong to in society, is the first principle (the germ as it were) of public affections. It is the first link in the series by which we proceed towards a love to our country, and to mankind." This sort of attachment plays virtually no role in Niebuhr's thought.

4. *Particular Political Issues.* Space does not permit an extended comparison between the positions Burke took on the issues of his time and those Niebuhr takes on the issues of ours. The contrast, needless to say, would be dramatic. One example must do service for the rest. Burke was unequivocal in recommending intervention against the French Revolution (see his *Thoughts On French Affairs*). Understanding the character of the Jacobins, he was willing to *act* against them. Would Niebuhr have recommended such intervention? I think not. He opposes, for example, intervention in Cuba, even though he has very well described (in "Why is Communism So Evil?") the threat posed by a modern and even more malign Jacobinism. Burke's awareness of complexity and moral ambiguity became a motive *for* recommending intervention against the simplifiers; Niebuhr's awareness of complexity and moral ambiguity tends to *inhibit* action.

New York City

JEFFREY HART
Assistant Professor of English,
Columbia University

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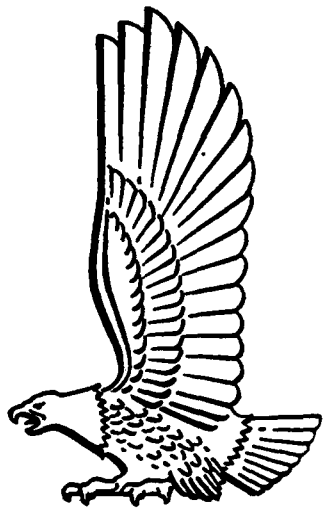
RELIGION

(Continued from p. 22)

> the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in. . . .

Here speaks the man of faith and the responsible statesman! Lincoln understands the war, with all its horrors, to be the judgment of God on a sinful America, but he does not dream of asserting that God may be "on the side of" the slaveholders. Lincoln sees the North involved in responsibility for the dreadful war, but how does he envisage this responsibility? Strangely enough, he does not even mention the many evils that plagued the emerging capitalist system in the North; no, to him, the real crime of the North was that, for so many years, it had condoned slavery and had even participated in the profits of the slave system.

Shall we learn from Lincoln? Then let us of the West recognize our real crime, beyond all of the defects and injustices of our social system; and that crime is that we have so long been blind, politically and morally, to the reality of Communism, deluding ourselves with fantasies of accommodation, disarmament, and "peaceful coexistence," on occasion after occasion even cooperating with Communism in the preservation and extension of its diabolical tyranny. This is full measure of our crime, and for this crime divine providence will certainly hold us responsible. If we are looking for theological lessons, here they are; and we can learn them not from contemporary political theologizing, but from the reflections of Abraham Lincoln, who knew so well how to combine the sagacity of a statesman with the profound insight of the man of faith.



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"CANCO," August 1961

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This issue of "CANCO" was entitled "The American Achievement," and was written by Harold Fleming

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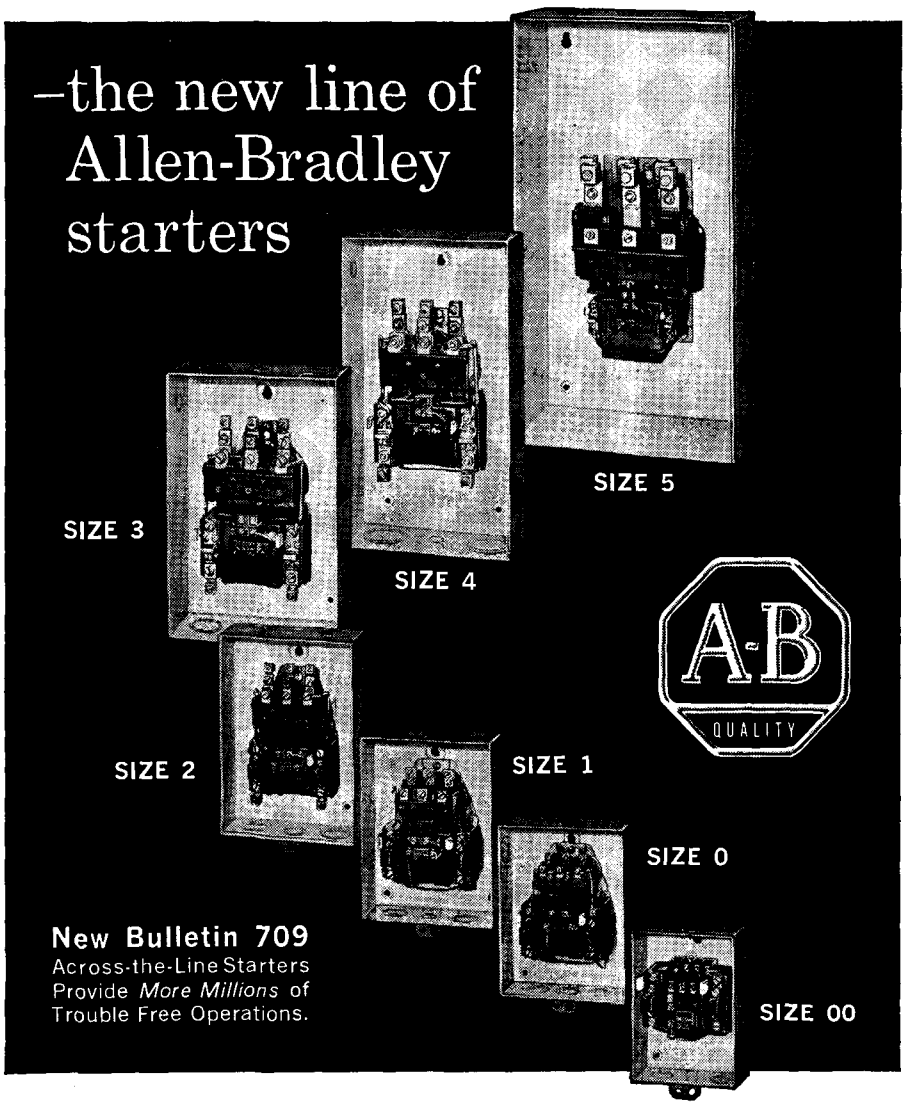

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

(Continued from p. 33)

[Theological Seminary]"; Niebuhr the dauntless-anti-Communist-at-war-with-HUAC; and mainly, Niebuhr the apostle of "neo-orthodoxy." Decked out in his Theologian's New Clothes, Niebuhr sallies forth to do battle against the Resurrection and the Virgin Birth, judiciously corrects certain errors Jesus stumbled into, and elaborates a theory of Christ's healing miracles that owes a profound but unacknowledged debt to Mary Baker Eddy. The root problem for Niebuhr, as for all Christian Liberals, escapes his biographer: how Niebuhr can resist the idea of man's perfectibility and defend his freedom—then help found the ADA. Sidney Hook, more acute in his atheism than Niebuhr in his peculiar Christianity, has observed that "logically not a single one of Reinhold Niebuhr's social, political and ethical views can be derived from his theology." This may be why George Kennan, speaking for the State Department policymakers, once said, "Niebuhr is the father of us all." N. MCCAFFREY

ROBERT BELLARMINE, by James Brodrick, S.J. (Newman, $5.75). Hagiography is always a hard medicine for man's certitudes—a presentation, usually unpalatable, of a thing always inexplicable: sanctity. Bellarmine was, on one side of his life, brilliant and urbane; this side Father Brodrick presents with his own Irish wit and erudition. Even more to his credit, the darker (objectively, one must believe, the brighter) half of this mysterious man's life—that side turned constantly toward God—is not recast in terms acceptable by Madison Avenue. Further work must, in time, be devoted to Bellarmine's importance as a political theorist. But Brodrick has said what little can be said about the most important Bellarmine of all—the holy Cardinal whose mere presence purged the air of that unsavory Roman world he inhabited, the man who carried an ablutionary innocence through a tangled world of intrigue; diplomat and divine fool, dove and serpent; the saint. G. WILLS

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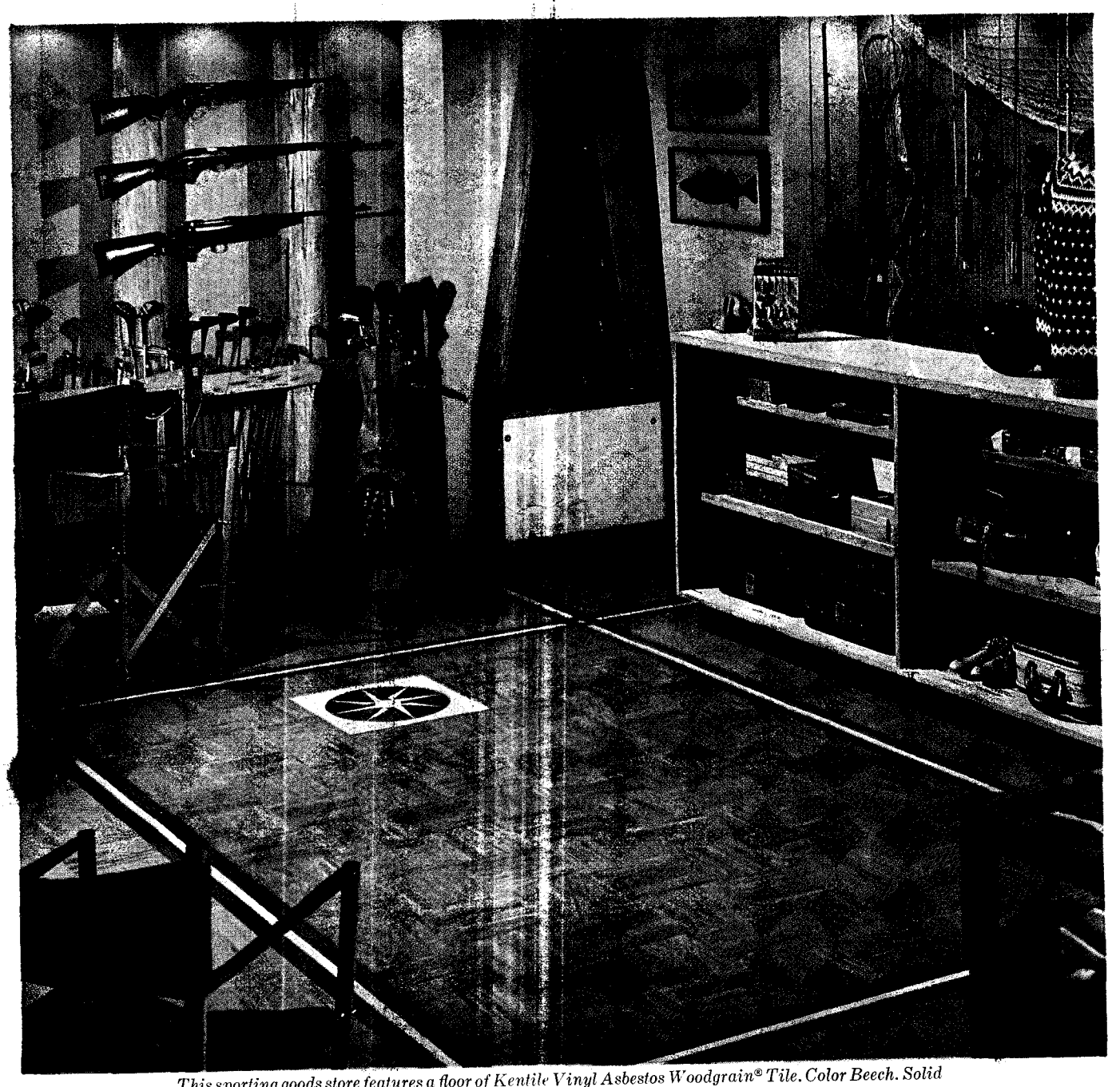

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